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P. 129.

AN ADDRESS

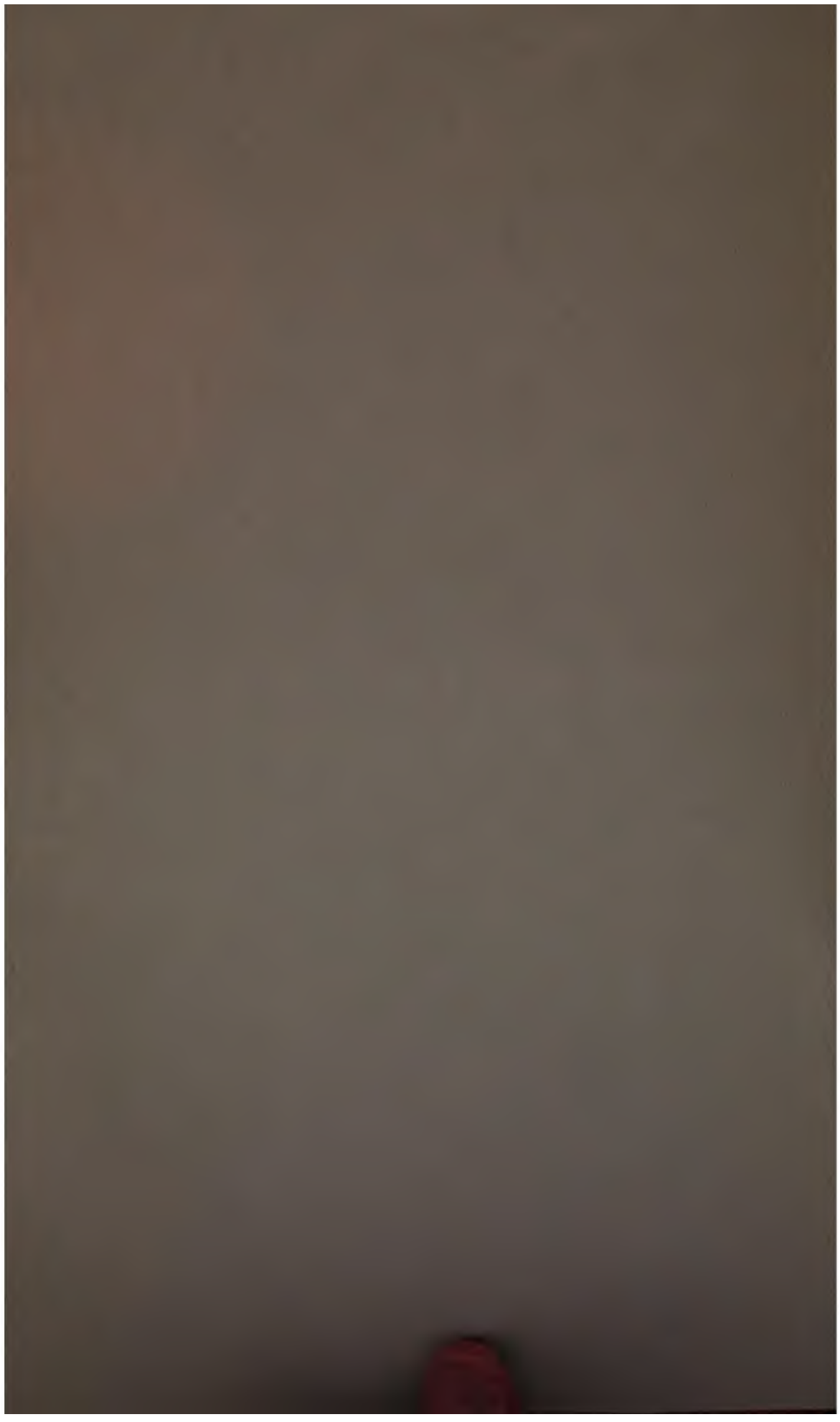
AT THE MASSACHUSETTS CLUB

BOSTON

# A CONTINENTAL UNION

BY

WHITELAW REID



# A
# CONTINENTAL UNION

## CIVIL SERVICE FOR THE ISLANDS

AN ADDRESS

AT THE MASSACHUSETTS CLUB, BOSTON
MARCH 3, 1900

BY
WHITELAW REID

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# A CONTINENTAL UNION

## CIVIL SERVICE FOR THE ISLANDS

AN ADDRESS

AT THE MASSACHUSETTS CLUB, BOSTON, MARCH 3, 1900

A third of a century ago or more, I had the honor to be a guest at this club, which met then, as now, in Young's Hotel. It has ever since been a pleasure to recall the men of Boston who gathered about the board, interested, as now, in the affairs of the Republic to which they were at once ornament and defence. Frank Bird sat at the head. Near him was Henry Wilson. John M. Forbes was here, and John A. Andrew, and George S. Boutwell, and George L. Stearns, and many another, eager in those times of trial to seek and know the best thing to be done to serve this country of our pride and love. They were practical business men, true Yankees in the best sense; and they spent no time then in quarrelling over how we got into our trouble. Their one concern was how to get out, to the greatest advantage of the country.

Honored now by another opportunity to meet with the club, I can do no better than profit by this example of your earlier days. You have asked me to speak on some phase of the Philippine question. I would like to concentrate your attention upon the present and practical phase; and to withdraw it for the time from things that are past and cannot be changed.

**Things that cannot be undone.**

*Stare decisis.* There are some things settled. Have we not a better and more urgent use for our time now than in showing why some of us would have liked them settled differently? In my State there is a dictum by an eminent Judge of the Court of Appeals, so familiar now as to be a commonplace, to the effect that when that Court has rendered its decision, there are only two things left to the disappointed advocate. One is to accept the result attained, and go to work on it as best he can; the other, to go down to the tavern and "cuss" the Court. I want to suggest to those who dislike the past of the Philippine ques-

tion that there is more important work pressing upon you at this moment than to cuss the Court. You cannot change the past, but you may prevent some threatened sequences, which even in your eyes would be far greater calamities.

There is no use bewailing the war with Spain. Nothing can undo it, and its results are upon us. There is no use arguing that Dewey should have abandoned his conquest. He didn't. There is no use regretting the Peace of Paris. For good or for ill, it is a part of the supreme law of the land. There is no use begrudging the twenty millions. They are paid. There is no use depreciating the islands, East or West. They are the property of the United States, by an immutable title, which, whatever some of our own people say, the whole civilized world recognizes and respects. There is no use talking about getting rid of them;— giving them back to Spain, or turning them over to Aguinaldo, or simply running away from them. Whoever thinks that any one of these things could be done, or is still open to profitable debate, takes his observations,— will you pardon me the liberty of saying it? — takes his observations too closely within the horizon of Boston bay to know the American people.

They have not been persuaded and they cannot be persuaded that this is an inferior Government, incapable of any duty Providence (through the acts of a wicked Administration, if you choose,) may send its way,— duties which other nations could discharge, but we cannot. They do not and will not believe that it was any such maimed, imperfect, misshapen cripple from birth for which our forefathers made a place in the family of Nations. Nor are they misled by the sudden cry that, in a populous region, thronged by the ships and traders of all countries, where their own prosecution of a just war broke down whatever guarantees for order had previously existed, they are violating the natural rights of man, by enforcing order. Just as little are they misled by the other cry that they are violating the right of self-government, and the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States by preparing for the distracted, warring tribes of that region, such local government as they may be found capable of conducting, in their various stages of development from pure barbarism toward civilization. The American people know they are thus proceeding to do just what Jefferson did in the vast region he bought from France — without the consent, by the way, either of its sovereign or its inhabitants. They know they are following in

the exact path of all the constructive statesmen of the Republic, from the days of the man who wrote the Declaration, and of those who made the Constitution, down to the days of the men who conquered California, bought Alaska, and denied the right of self-government to Jefferson Davis. They simply do not believe that a new light has been given to Mr. Bryan, or to the better men who are aiding him, greater and purer than was given to Washington, or to Jefferson, or to Lincoln.

And so I venture to repeat, without qualification or reserve, that what is past cannot be changed. Candid and dispassionate minds, knowing the American people of all political shades and in all sections of the country, can see no possibility that any party in power, whether the present one or its opponent, would or could now or soon, if ever, abandon or give back one foot of the territory gained in the late war, and ours now by the supreme law of the land and with the assent of the civilized world. As well may you look to see California, which your own Daniel Webster, quite in a certain modern Massachusetts style, once declared in the Senate to be not worth a dollar, now abandoned to Mexico.

**No abstractions or apologies or attacks.**

It seems to me then idle to thresh over old straw when the grain is not only winnowed but gone to the mill. And so I am not here to discuss abstract questions, as for example whether in the year 1898 the United States was wise in going to war with Spain, though on that I might not greatly disagree with the malcontents; or as to the wisdom of expansion; or as to the possibility of a republic's maintaining its authority over a people without their consent. Nor am I here to apologize for my part in making the nation that was in the wrong and beaten in the late war pay for it in territory. I have never thought of denying or evading my own full share of responsibility in that matter. Conscious of a duty done, I am happily independent enough to be measurably indifferent as to a mere present and temporary effect. Whatever the verdict of the men of Massachusetts to-day, I contentedly await the verdict of their sons.

But, on the other hand, I am not here either to launch charges of treason against any opponent of these policies, who nevertheless loves the institutions founded on these shores by your ancestors, and wishes to perpetuate what they created. Least of all would it occur to me to utter a word in disparagement of your senior Senator, of whom it may be said with respectful and almost affectionate regard that he bears a warrant as

authentic as that of the most distinguished of his predecessors to speak for the conscience and the culture of Massachusetts. Nor shall any reproach be uttered by me against another eminent son of the Commonwealth and servant of the Republic, who was expected, as one of the officers of your Club told me, to make this occasion distinguished by his presence. He has been represented as resenting the unchangeable past so sternly that he hopes to aid in defeating the party he has helped to lead through former trials to present glory. If so, and if from the young and unremembering reproach should come, be it ours, silent and walking backward, merely to cast over him the mantle of his own honored service.

**Common duty and a common danger.**

No, no! Let us have a truce to profitless disputes about what cannot be reversed. Censure us if you must. Even strike at your old associates and your own party if you will, and when you can, without harming causes you hold dear. But for the duty of this hour, consider if there is not a common meeting ground and instant necessity for union in a rational effort to avert present perils. This, then, is my appeal. Disagree as we may about the past, let us to-day at least see straight—see things as they are. Let us suspend disputes about what is done and cannot be undone, long enough to rally all the forces of goodwill, all the undoubted courage and zeal and patriotism that are now at odds, in a devoted effort to meet the greater dangers that are upon us.

For the enemy is at the gates. More than that, there is some reason to fear that, through dissensions from within, he may gain the citadel. In their eagerness to embarrass the advocates of what has been done, and with the vain hope of in some way undoing it, and so lifting this Nation of seventy-five millions bodily backward two years on its path, there are many who are still putting forth all their energies in straining our Constitution and defying our history, to show that we have no possessions whose people are not entitled to citizenship and ultimately to Statehood. Grant that, and instead of reversing engines safely in mid-career, as they vainly hope, they must simply plunge us over the precipice. The movement began in the demand that our Dingley tariff—as a matter of right, not of policy, for most of these people denounce the tariff itself as barbarous—that our Dingley tariff should of necessity be extended over Puerto Rico as an integral part of the United States. Following an assent

to this must have come inevitably all the other rights and privileges belonging to citizenship, and then no power could prevent the admission of the State of Puerto Rico.

Some may think that in itself would be no great thing; though it is for you to say how Massachusetts would relish having this mixed population, a little more than half colonial Spanish, the rest negro and halfbreed, illiterate, alien in language, alien in ideas of right, interests and government, send in from the mid-Atlantic, nearly a third of the way over to Africa, two Senators to balance the votes of Mr. Hoar and Lodge;—for you to say how Massachusetts would regard the spectacle of her Senatorial vote nullified, and one-third of her representation in the House offset on questions, for instance, of sectional and tropical interest, in the government of this Continent, and in the administration of this precious heritage of our fathers.

Or, suppose Massachusetts to be so little Yankee (in the best sense still) that she could bear all this without murmur or objection: — is it to be imagined that she can lift other States in this generation to her altruistic level? How would Kansas for example enjoy being balanced in the Senate, and nearly balanced in the House, on questions relating to the irrigation of her arid plains, or the protection of her beet-root industry, or on any others affecting the great central regions of this continent by these voices from the watery waste of the ocean? Or how would West Virginia or Oregon or Connecticut, or half a dozen others of similar population, regard it, to be actually outvoted in their own home, on their own continent, by this Spanish and negro waif from the mid-Atlantic?

All this, in itself, may seem to some unimportant, negligible, even trivial. At any rate it would be inevitable; since no one is wild enough to believe that Puerto Rico can be turned back to Spain, or bartered away, or abandoned by the generation that took it. But make its people citizens now, and you have already made it, potentially, a State. Then behind Puerto Rico stands Cuba, and behind Cuba, in time, stand the whole of the West Indies, on whom that law of political gravitation which John Quincy Adams described, will be perpetually acting with redoubled force. And behind them,— no, far ahead of them,— abreast of Puerto Rico itself, stand the Philippines! The Constitution which our Fathers reverently ordained for the United States of *America* is thus tortured by its professed friends into a crazy quilt, under whose dirty folds

must huddle the United States of America, of the West Indies, of the East Indies, and of Polynesia; and Pandemonium is upon us.

**The degradation of the Republic.**

I implore you, as thinking men, pause long enough to realize the degradation of the Republic thus calmly contemplated by those who proclaim this to be our Constitutional duty toward our possessions. The Republican institutions I have been trained to believe in were institutions founded, like those of New England, on the Church and the School House. They constitute a system only likely to endure among a people of high virtue and high intelligence. The Republican Government built up on this continent, while the most successful in the history of the world, is also the most complicated, the most expensive and often the slowest. Such are its complications and checks and balances and interdependencies, which tax the intelligence, the patience and the virtue of the highest Caucasian development, that it is a system absolutely unworkable by a group of Oriental and tropical races, more or less hostile to each other, whose highest type is a Chinese and Malay halfbreed, and among whom millions, a majority possibly, are far below the level of the pure Malay.

What holds a nation together, unless it be community of interests, character and language, and contiguous territory? What would more thoroughly insure its speedily flying to pieces than the lack of every one of these requisites? Over and over the clearest-eyed students of history have predicted our own downfall even as a continental Republic, in spite of our measurable enjoyment of all of them. How near we all believed we came to it once or twice! How manifestly under the incongruous hodge-podge of additions to the Union thus proposed, we should be organizing with Satanic skill the exact conditions which have invariably led to such downfalls elsewhere!

Before the advent of the United States, the history of the world's efforts at Republicanism was a monotonous record of failure. Your very schoolboys are taught the reason. It was because the average of intelligence and morality was too low; because they lacked the self-restrained, self-governing quality, developed in the Anglo-Saxon bone and fibre through all the centuries since Runnymede; because they grew unwieldy and lost cohesion by reason of unrelated territory, alien races and languages, and inevitable territorial and climatic conflicts of interest.

On questions vitally affecting the welfare of this Continent it

is inconceivable, unthinkable, that even altruistic Massachusetts should tolerate having two Senators and thirteen Representatives neutralized by as many from Mindanao. Yet Mindanao has a greater population than Massachusetts, and its Mahometan Malays are as keen for the conduct of public affairs, can talk as much — and look as shrewdly for the profit of it!

There are cheerful, happy-go-lucky public men, who assure us that the National digestion has been proved equal to anything. Has it? Are we content, for example, with the way we have dealt with the negro problem in the Southern States? Do we think the suffrage question there is now on a permanent basis, which either we, or our Southern friends can be proud of, while we lack the courage either honestly to enforce the rule of the majority, or honestly to sanction a limitation of suffrage within lines of intelligence and thrift? How well would our famous National digestion probably advance, if we filled up our Senate with twelve or fourteen more Senators, representing conditions incomparably worse?

Is it said this danger is imaginary? At this moment some of the purest and most patriotic men in Massachusetts, along with a great many of the very worst in the whole country, are vehemently declaring that our new possessions are already a part of the United States, that in spite of the treaty which reserved the question of citizenship and political status for Congress, their people are already citizens of the United States, and that no part of the United States can be arbitrarily and permanently excluded from Statehood.

The immediate contention, to be sure, is only about Puerto Rico, and it is only a very little island. But who believes he can stop the avalanche? What wise man at least will take the risk of starting it? Who imagines that we can take in Puerto Rico and keep out nearer islands when they come? Powerful elements are already pushing Cuba. Practically everybody recognizes now that we must retain control of Cuba's foreign relations. But beyond that, the same influences that came so near hurrying us into a recognition of the Cuban Republic and the Cuban debt are now sure that Cuba will very shortly be so "Americanized" (that is, overrun with American speculators) that it cannot be denied admission — that in fact it will be as American as Florida! And, after Cuba, the deluge! Who fancies that we could then keep Santo Domingo and Hayti out; or any West India island that applied; or our friends, the Kanakas? Or who fancies that after the baser sort have once tasted

blood in the form of such rotten-borough States, and have learned to form their larger combinations with them, we shall still be able to admit as a matter of right a part of the territory exacted from Spain, and yet deny admission as a matter of right to the rest?

The Nation has lately been renewing its affectionate memories of a man who died in his effort to hold on, with or without their consent, to the States we already have on this continent, but who never dreamed of casting a dragnet over the world's archipelagoes for more. Do we remember his birthday and forget his words? "This Government, (meaning that under the Constitution ordained for the United States of *America*,) this Government cannot permanently endure, half slave, half free." Who disputes it now? Well, then, can it endure half civilized and enlightened, half barbarous and pagan; half white, half black, brown, yellow and mixed; half northern and western, half tropical and Oriental; one half a homogeneous Continent, the other half in myriads of islands, scattered halfway around the globe, but all eager to participate in ruling this Continent which our fathers with fire and sword redeemed from barbarism and subdued to the uses of the highest civilization.

**Clamor that need not disturb.**

I will not insult your intelligence or your patriotism by imagining it possible that in view of such considerations you could consent to the madman's policy of taking these islands we control into full partnership with the States of this Union. Nor need you be much disturbed by the interested outcries as to the injustice you do by refusing to admit them.

When it is said you are denying the natural rights Mr. Jefferson proclaimed, you can answer that you are giving these people, in their distant islands, the identical form of government Mr. Jefferson himself gave to the territories on this continent which he bought. When it is said you are denying our own cardinal doctrine of self-government, you can point to the arrangements for establishing every particle of self-government with which these widely different tribes can be safely trusted, consistently with your responsibility for the preservation of order and the protection of life and property in that archipelago; and the pledge of more, the moment they are found capable of it. When you are asked, as a leading champion asked the other night at Philadelphia, "Does your liberation of one people give you the right to subjugate another?" you can answer him: "No, nor to allow and aid Aguinaldo to subjugate

them either, as you proposed." When the idle quibble that after Dewey's victory Spain had no sovereignty to cede is repeated, it may be asked why acknowledge then that she did cede it in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and deny that she could cede it in the Philippines? Finally, when they tell you in mock heroics, appropriated from the great days of the anti-slavery struggle for the cause now of a pinchbeck Washington, that no results of the irrevocable past two years are settled, that not even the title to our new possessions is settled, and never will be until it is settled according to their notions, you can answer that then the title to Massachusetts is not settled, nor the title to a square mile of land in most of the States from ocean to ocean. Over practically none of it did we assume sovereignty by the consent of the inhabitants.

**Where is your real interest?**

Quite possibly these controversies may embarrass the Government and threaten the security of the party in power. New and perplexing responsibilities often do that. But is it to the interest of the sincere and patriotic among the discontented to produce either result? The one thing sure is that no party in power in this country will dare abandon these new possessions. That being so, do those of you who regret it prefer to lose all influence over the outcome? While you are repining over what is beyond recall, events are moving on. If you do not help shape them, others, without your high principle and purity of motive, may. Can you wonder if, while you are harassing the Administration with impracticable demands for an abandonment of territory which the American people will not let go, less unselfish influences are busy presenting candidates for all the offices in its organization? If the friends of a proper Civil Service persist in chasing the ignis fatuus of persuading Americans to throw away territory, while the politicians are busy crowding their favorites into the territorial offices, who will feel free from self-reproach at the results? Grant that the situation is bad. Can there be a doubt of the duty to make the best of it? Do you ask how? By being an active patriot, not a passive one. By exerting, and exerting now, when it is needed, every form of influence, personal, social, political, moral—the influence of the Clubs, the Chambers of Commerce, the manufactories, the Colleges and the Churches, in favor of the purest, the ablest, the most scientific, the most disinterested—in a word the best possible Civil Service for the new possessions that the conscience and the capacity of America can produce, with

the most liberal use of all the material available from native sources.

I have done. I have no wish to argue, to defend or to attack. I have sought only to point out what I conceive to be the present danger and the present duty. It is not to be doubted that all such considerations will summon you to the high resolve that you will neither shame the Republic by shirking the duty its own victory entails, nor despoil the Republic by abandoning its rightful possessions, nor degrade the Republic by admissions of unfit elements to its Union; but that you will honor it, enrich it, ennoble it, by doing your utmost to make the administration of these possessions worthy of the Nation that Washington founded and Lincoln preserved. My last word is an appeal to stand firm and stand all together for the Continental Union and for a pure Civil Service for the Islands.

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JUL 28 1903

A COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
AT THE LAW SCHOOL, YALE UNIVERSITY
JUNE 23, 1903

# THE MONROE DOCTRINE
# THE POLK DOCTRINE
AND
# THE DOCTRINE OF ANARCHISM

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# MONROE DOCTRINE; THE POLK DOCTRINE; AND THE DOCTRINE OF ANARCHISM.

THERE is a thought to-day in the minds of all of us to which I shall not refrain from giving expression at the outset. It is one of gratitude for the services, regret for the departure, and hope for the unbroken rest and enjoyment of the retiring Dean of the Yale Law School. My own gratitude goes to Dr. Wayland as a sort of inheritance, for over forty years ago, in a remote Western college, my first lessons in Moral Science and Intellectual Philosophy were taught from his honored father's text-books; yours is of that more intimate character that comes from seeing the son take the torch from the father's hands and bear it blazing forward over your own pathway.

May I venture further on an expression of the pleasure given to a great body of college-bred men throughout the length and breadth of the United States, and especially to almost every man who in the past quarter of a century has had to do, in however humble a way, with the foreign service of his country, by the continued duty here of the present acting Dean? To those who learned Morals and International Law from the tongue or pen of a former eminent President of Yale, no work of a Woolsey can fail to be weighty.

**The Profession, not Trade, of Law**

In looking over some of the impressive addresses called out by your Commencement in later years, I have observed that the learned speakers have generally had something to say more directly to the graduating class, and that this has been reserved for the conclusion of their remarks. The little I have in this kind is so simple that we may as well have done with it at once. I merely wish to express the hope that as you go out with the training and under the inspiration of Yale, it is to be the profession and not the trade of law that you are going to practice.

What the legal profession has been to this country, what in spite of the bewildering and unprecedented changes of later years its friends still love to recognize in it, may be seen in the picture drawn by a most intelligent and acute foreign observer, over two-thirds of a century ago. I quote from M. de Tocqueville:

"In America there are no nobles or literary men, and the people are apt to mistrust the wealthy. Lawyers consequently form the highest political class and the most cultivated portion of society. They have therefore nothing to gain by innovation, which adds a conservative interest to their natural taste for public honor. If I were asked where I place the American aristocracy I should reply, without hesitation, that it is not among the rich, who are united by no common tie, but that it occupies the judicial bench and bar. . . . In that country we easily perceive how the legal profession is qualified by its attributes, and even by its faults, to neutralize the vices inherent in popular government."

That, gentlemen, referred necessarily and exclusively to what I mentioned a moment ago as the legal profession, as distinguished from what under modern conditions, and in the intense life of our great cities, your critics are now apt to talk about as the legal trade. Of the latter no man has written such words and no man has thought of such praise. There is still cherished among our national glories the name of a great lawyer in New Haven, who flourished here a century ago. He is famous for his connection with the law, but he would have been famous without the law. He worked at a trade before he studied law. If he had then pursued the trade of law he might perhaps have retained the honor won in other fields, but we should have been prouder to speak of him solely as Roger Sherman, the shoemaker.

Perhaps the contrast between the profession and the very highest form of the trade of law was never more sharply and even exasperatingly drawn than in an old Boston oration, full of the fire and stern ethical exaction of our stormy anti-slavery days. Without approving its bitterness, and without accepting even its implications of principle in their extreme length, I am going to read a short extract from it that may serve you as a summons to the highest and best level of the great profession for which you have been fitting:

"Suppose we stood in that lofty temple of jurisprudence—on either side of us the statues of the great lawyers of every age and clime—and let us see what part New England—Puritan, educated, free New England—would bear in the pageant. Rome points to a colossal figure and says, 'That is Papinian, who, when the Emperor Caracalla murdered his own brother, and ordered the lawyer to defend the deed, went cheerfully to death rather than sully his lips with the atrocious plea.' And France

stretches forth her grateful hands, crying, 'That is D'Aguesseau, worthy, when he went to face an enraged King, of the farewell his wife addressed him—Go! forget that you have a wife and children to ruin, and remember only that you have France to save.' England says, 'That is Coke, who flung the laurels of eighty years in the face of the first Stuart, in the defence of the people. This is Selden, on every book of whose library you saw written the motto of which he lived worthy, Before everything Liberty! That is Mansfield, silver-tongued, who proclaimed, Slaves cannot breathe in England. . . . This is Romilly, who spent life trying to make law synonymous with justice, and succeeded in making life and property safer in every city of the empire. . . . That is Erskine, whose eloquence, in spite of Lord Eldon and George III, made it safe to speak and to print.'

"Then New England shouts, 'This is Choate, who made it safe to murder; and of whose health thieves asked before they began to steal.'"

Unjust to the lawyer no doubt it was, but as an estimate of what some walks of the law may be made, it is mordant and ineffaceable.

In that lofty Valhalla of which Mr. Phillips spoke, consecrated to the stern and awful figure of Justice herself, and peopled only by the sons of your profession whose conspicuous service approved them worthy to worship at her shrine—in that noble company, I say, you will look in vain for the statue of the modern "ambulance-chaser" or any species of the modern speculative damage-suit lawyer. Far less will you find the tradesman in litigation who has found ways to combine champerty and maintenance with safe standing in the courts. Nay, you will not even find there that sort of brilliant corporation lawyer whose practice is confined to teaching corporate wealth how to evade the laws of the land; or that other whose practice lies in teaching trades unions how to conduct campaigns against property without imperilling their own incomes, and campaigns against free labor by terrorism, by the bludgeon, by dynamite, without incurring responsibility for such deeds, while enjoying the victory they secure. Few, perhaps, in any Law School or in any age may hope to reach that lofty company, the nobles of your truly aristocratic profession, the laureates of the law; but better far fall short on that upward and shining professional path than race to the front in the downward road of the trade.

**The Monroe Doctrine**

When Theophilus Parsons undertook the task of training John Quincy Adams to the Law, the first book he assigned his pupil was Robertson's "History of Charles V," and the second was Vattel's "Law of Nature and Nations," while Gibbon and Hume came shortly afterward. On the assumption that the range and

dignity of law studies have not suffered at the hands of this great New England University since the days of that eminent New England lawyer, I make no apologies for now proceeding to invite the attention of the Yale Law School to certain recent aspects of public policy and international law, rather than to topics more directly related to current law practice. I wish to speak to you about the Monroe Doctrine, the Polk Doctrine, and the Doctrine of Anarchism.

To the average American the Monroe Doctrine seems so natural and necessary that he is always surprised at the surprise with which the pretension is regarded by Europe. Not one of our citizens out of a thousand has any doubt of its propriety or of our duty to maintain it. The slightest show of foreign opposition would call a practically unanimous country to its defence.

At the same time there is no very intimate familiarity with the circumstances of its origin, or the varying scope we have given it, and little attention has been paid to the changed conditions that must now affect its application. Considered at present merely in the old light, as a barrier against the reactionary designs of the Holy Alliance upon the new republics we had just recognized in the American continents at the close of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic period, its condition somewhat resembles that of a long-neglected barrel around which has accumulated the debris of years. The hoops, the thing that made it a barrel, have dropped away; only the pressure of the debris outside holds the staves together. Remove that and the barrel would tumble to pieces. Keep up the outside pressure and it may last indefinitely.

I do not say that the illustration exactly fits the case, or that the Monroe Doctrine would disappear if Europe ceased to oppose it. I do say that under a show of European opposition it would be likely to last indefinitely; and that in a long absence of such opposition it may hold together less tenaciously. The things that made the Monroe Doctrine have disappeared: — the danger that the infant republics should be strangled by their cruel stepmother and her allies; that the Holy Alliance should check the spread of Republican institutions or overturn them in any place where they deserve to exist; or that Europeans should attempt now, under the shadow of the United States of the Twentieth Century, to colonize alleged unoccupied lands in America. Under such circumstances it may be easy, after a while, for us to look over the Monroe Doctrine again in the light of the present situation of the American continents and of our present necessities. We will certainly not abandon it; but we may find, if nobody is opposing

us, that perhaps its extension, quite so far beyond the original purpose of Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams as the fervor of our patriots has carried it, may prove to be attended with wholly unnecessary inconvenience to ourselves.

For the sake of precision it may be well at the beginning to restate a few facts about it, not always remembered. The Doctrine is not International Law. It is not American Law. It consists merely of declarations of policy by Presidents and Secretaries of State, and these are not uniform. There is a Monroe Doctrine, suggested in part by Mr. Canning, extended and formulated by Mr. John Quincy Adams, and adopted by Mr. Monroe, in his message to Congress of December 2, 1823. There is a Polk Doctrine, starting in disputes about our Northwestern frontier and in an intrigue of the slave power for the seizure and annexation of Yucatan, collaborated by Mr. James Buchanan and his chief, and adopted by Mr. Polk, in his messages to Congress of December 2, 1845, and April 29, 1848. The Monroe Doctrine held that (1) "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power"; and (2) that, as "the political system of the allied powers is essentially different . . . from that of America . . . with the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power (in America) we have not interfered and shall not interfere; but with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it . . . we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." The second of these propositions was the one suggested and cordially welcomed by Great Britain; the first was met by instant dissent. Both, though resting wholly on the Presidential declaration, without a statute or resolution of Congress to sustain them, have become incorporated into the general American faith. But neither of them declares against any but Republican institutions for the future in this hemisphere; — in fact, about the same time we were recognizing two Emperors, Iturbide in Mexico and Dom Pedro in Brazil. Neither of them objects to transfer of dominion to Europeans by cession, purchase or the voluntary act of the inhabitants; and neither of them gives any pledge to any South American State that we would interfere in its behalf against the use of force for the collection of debts or the redress of injuries, or indeed against any European attack.

**The Polk Doctrine**

The Polk Doctrine, starting from Mr. Monroe's statement about colonization, says (1) "it should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony *or dominion* shall, with our consent, be planted *or established* on any part of the North American continent"; and again, quoting Mr. Monroe as opposing the extension of the European system to this hemisphere, Mr. Polk says (2) "while it is not my purpose to recommend . . . the acquisition of the dominion and sovereignty over Yucatan, yet . . . we could not consent to a transfer of this dominion and sovereignty to either Spain, Great Britain or any other European power." Thus, professing only to reaffirm the Monroe Doctrine, the Polk Doctrine extends it to forbid specifically the establishment or acquisition of dominion anywhere in North America, and inferentially anywhere in this hemisphere, by any European power. Not merely are they forbidden to claim unsettled lands and colonize them, or to interfere with the liberties of the Spanish-American Republics we had just recognized; but they must never take dominion, by cession, by purchase, by voluntary appeal of inhabitants or otherwise. Under the Polk Doctrine no American nation could part with any of its territory to Europeans to secure any advantage for itself; nor could its people determine their own destiny at their own will. Under that doctrine Germany could not buy a coaling station off the coast of Chili, or on the confines of Patagonia;—not even if the recognized sovereigns agreed to sell it and the inhabitants earnestly desired the transfer; nor could Venezuela pay its European debts by ceding—possibly even by leasing—the little island of Marguerita off its coast.

I suppose the logical basis of our original assertion of the Monroe Doctrine to have been our own National interests; and the only ground for any recognition or toleration of it by other nations to have been the national right, generally claimed, to hold our own interests paramount within the natural and legitimate sphere of our influence. Such a claim is known in international practice. What other nations cannot so clearly understand is why Patagonia, close to the Antarctic Circle and the Southern Frigid Zone, should be in our sphere of influence, any more than theirs; or, if it is, why the Azores and Morocco, less than a third as far away from us, are not also within our sphere of influence.

**European Polk Doctrine**

It is always an advantage, in any effort to see all around a subject, to find the other man's point of view. Perhaps we may get a clearer insight into the action of the European mind on this subject if we should try to work out some European Monroe Doctrine, and especially some European Polk Doctrine.

China, or at any rate China and Russia combined, hold a position in Asia far more commanding than that of the United States in the three Americas. In both cases the governments are as absolutely committed to the despotic as we are to the republican idea; and there is no obvious proof that the overwhelming majority of their people do not believe in their system as much as the corresponding majority of our people believe in ours. Suppose China, or China and Russia together, had taken ground that the Asiatic continent, being entirely occupied by the existing governments which were mostly in form and principle like their own, was no longer a field for colonization or conquest by any American power; and on that ground at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War had warned us off Manila and the Philippines?

Great Britain, entrenched at the North and at the South of Africa, and reaching thence in each direction yet farther and farther toward the point where her two lines of settlement must meet, holds a position on the continent of Africa comparable at least to that of the United States on the continents of America. In connection with the minor colonies by other Governments of like tendencies toward constitutional monarchy with England herself, Belgium, Portugal and Germany, she has the immensely preponderating influence. Suppose Great Britain, with the concurrence of the rest, had said to the United States, that Africa, having already had governments under their control and committed mainly to the ideas of the constitutional monarchy, set up over her whole extent (so far as it is accessible excepting through their territory), is no longer a field for colonization by Republics, and so had warned us off, say, from Liberia?

Would the United States have cheerfully accepted that doctrine in Asia, or even in Africa? Suppose it had been announced when Dewey was compelled to leave Hong Kong, and had his choice between falling upon the national enemy at Manila or turning his back upon the Spaniard and steaming home across the Pacific? Or suppose that after the war China and Russia had called upon us to give up what we had conquered and restore the Philippines to Spain?

With our mental vision possibly a little clarified by this glimpse of how the boot might look on the other leg, it may be useful now to consider dispassionately the present advantage to us of the two doctrines, and particularly the doctrine of Mr. Polk; and to count from the only point of view a representative government on its own initiative has any right to take, that of the interest of its citizens, whether it is now worth to them what it might cost.

**Our Interests and the Responsibilities**

What would be our present precise motive for aggressively asserting against the world the two Doctrines, as to countries farther away from us than half Europe and Africa are? One obvious advantage, from the point of view of our naval and mercantile marine, must always be remembered, and never undervalued;—that of making naval and coaling stations scarce for our commercial rivals and possible enemies. And yet our position would seem a little curious, spending hundreds of millions on a Panama canal, so as to open to all the world on equal terms the trade on the Pacific, in which, until a canal is dug, we have such an enormous natural advantage ourselves, and then saying, Nevertheless, by our Polk Doctrine we can still delay you or hamper you a little about coaling stations! But as to the old grounds of the Monroe Doctrine, are we afraid now of peril to our own institutions? Have we any interest in forcing the maintenance of similar institutions elsewhere beyond the legitimate sphere of our influence, unless at least they give promise of bringing to others something akin to what they have brought to us? If it be true that in considerable parts of the regions to the south of us they have resulted, through the three-quarters of a century since the doctrine was announced, in tumult, lack of development, disaster and chronic revolution, what is the precise real advantage for our citizens which the United States derives from meddling, and aggressively insisting that the world must continue to witness this result of so-called republican institutions on so colossal a scale?

Mexico is now a model for all Spanish America, but in the short period since her escape from her colonial government, in 1821, a statistical historian has counted three hundred revolutions, successful or abortive.

There is one particular South American State in which, for one reason or another, and in one way or another, we have of late greatly interested ourselves. I hold the table of its revolutions, forcible removals of Chief Magistrates, and civil wars in my hands, with dates and duration of each, but shall not delay you by reading the list. From 1811, when it proclaimed its independence, till 1903, it has had, under Dictators, Supreme Chiefs, self-proclaimed Presidents and otherwise, over thirty changes, has spent over twenty-five years under three Dictatorships, each violently overthrown, and has had civil war for twenty-nine years.* No doubt as to this government, too, which has sustained its independence, and, to use the stately language of Mr. Monroe, whose independence, on great consideration and on just principles, we acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for

*See Appendix.

the purpose of oppressing it or controlling in any manner its destiny by any European power except as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. It is directly within the sphere of our influence, as Cuba was, and if there should ever arise an imperative necessity for the restoration of order from the outside, the task would be ours rather than that of any European nation. But would that task be quite so imperative or exclusive if, instead of overhanging the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, this nation were double as far away from us as half Africa is?

Such turbulent and revolutionary governments commit offences against foreigners; sometimes injure foreign residents, sometimes affront or injure foreign vessels in their waters, sometimes run in debt and fail to pay. What then? Is the Monroe Doctrine, or, still more, the Polk Doctrine, to be construed into an international bankruptcy act, to be enforced by the United States for the benefit of any American Republic against all European creditors? Or, on the other hand, is it to degenerate into an international collection agency, maintained by the United States for the benefit of European powers which may have just claims against American Republics? In a recent conspicuous case the President has very properly and wisely given a practical negative to both these questions; while under his guidance the Secretary of State, with consummate skill, has secured the precedent that European powers first procure our consent before attempting to collect debts by force on these continents, and then only on their promise not to take territory. Perhaps it is also a useful precedent, secured at the same time, that under such conditions the game does not prove worth the candle.

But what then? What alternative is left? Shall we simply say to any European creditor that, as to any debt of any American Republic, the only rule is, *Caveat emptor?* Must the lender under any circumstances be merely told that he should have considered the risks before he made the loan, and that now he has no remedy? When the debtor country has no assets save its custom-houses and its lands, must the United States, a power aiming to stand at the head of the world's civilization, say for all time, You shall not touch the only assets of your debtor, because it is an American Republic? And, assuming that to be just, and our determination, are we ready to carry that doctrine, in case of need, as far afield as to Uruguay and Paraguay and Patagonia—and then to fight for it?

That is the vital point in the whole subject, as our First Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Loomis, pointed out in a recent

sagacious address. It is better to consider the question before a case springs up and the patriotic temper of the people is aroused. Obviously we shall either modify the present extreme extensions of the old doctrine, which carry it far beyond any national interest it now serves, or some day or another we shall have to fight for it,—and ought to, unless we mean to play the part of a vulgar braggart, and loudly assert what we are not ready to maintain. How far would it really have concerned our interests in the case of the Argentine troubles, which prostrated the Barings and brought on a great financial crash in London, if Great Britain had found it necessary for the protection of the rights of her people to take steps in that remote country, twice as far from New York as London itself is, which would seem to infringe upon the extreme extensions of the Monroe Doctrine by Polk and Buchanan? Happily the case did not arise. But some day and with some nation it is reasonably sure to. We may better now, in a time of profound calm, and when there is no threat to affect our dignity or disturb the serenity of our judgment, give serious consideration ourselves to this question: How far south do we mean now, in the twentieth century, to push the Monroe Doctrine and the Polk Doctrine, and hold ourselves ready at any challenge to fight for them?

I am not seeking to prejudge the question or even to influence the answer. I am only presenting the subject in a light in which it has never yet had from the American people at large that serious and solemn consideration which should always precede acts of war.

In this day, in the light of the last hundred years and with the present unassailable strength of representative government on this continent, it is for us to say if there is any ground of justice or right on which we rest the Monroe Doctrine, save that of our proper predominance, in our own interest, and in the interest of republican institutions generally, within the legitimate sphere of our National influence. Unless we stop there, we cannot stop logically short of a similar care over republican institutions wherever they exist on the surface of the globe. For in an age of fast steamers and wireless telegraphy, the two American continents can no longer be treated as shut up to themselves and measurably isolated from the rest of the world. Oceans do not now separate; they unite. Buenos Ayres is actually nearer in miles to Cadiz and Madrid than to New York, and so is more than half of all South America.

**The Future of the Doctrine**

Under such considerations, if no foreign interference arises suddenly to affect the National judgment, it is at least among the

possibilities that we may find two changes taking place in the National view of the ideas grouped under the popular term of the Monroe Doctrine. We may see a considerable increase in the stringency of their application, where our interest clearly calls for them, within the natural sphere of our influence. We may see them slowly moderated as to remote countries, which under changed modern conditions are no longer exclusively within that sphere. No one denies that the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea and the waters of both oceans about the Isthmus are within that sphere. They must be forever dominated by the great Republic. It cannot tolerate a nuisance at its doors, and the races that people those shores must keep the peace and preserve order as to us, and conform to ordinary international obligations toward the world. To this the moral duty of our strength points and our material interest binds us. It was on this ground our action toward Cuba was justified; and reasons of equal strength would no doubt be found to conduct us again to similar action in any similar emergency throughout that whole region, on the continent, in the islands, or on the other ocean, at least from Los Angeles to Lima.

Toward the rest of the American continents it may some day prove more convenient for us to assume less responsibility. We shall certainly never cease to manifest our friendly interest in those countries. We do have a relation toward them which the rest of the world can never have, and we shall hope that the progress of the century may make it closer. The general spread of such order and prosperity as have made brilliant the administration of that great statesman, Porfirio Diaz, will be warmly welcomed farther south. A railroad through the three Americas will draw us more closely together. The currents of trade will change. The legitimate sphere of our influence will thus widen throughout those nations with the years; and it might be increased rather than diminished by a moderation of our extreme claim to interfere now with any exercise of their own sovereignty as to territory, government or otherwise, to which their calm judgment of their own best interests may bring them.

**Political Offences in Extradition**

If the hour is not already too far advanced, I should now like to ask the attention of these future lawyers and lawmakers of the Republic to another question of perhaps equal National and international concern.

Two years ago a man without an enemy was assassinated in a neighboring State in the presence of a multitude of friends. There was absolutely no cause save a political one — he was at the head of the Government. It was either a political offence or the act

of a lunatic. The assassin was promptly arrested, absence of lunacy was established, and, to the credit of the progress in the administration of American justice since previous Presidential assassinations, he was fairly but much more promptly tried and more promptly executed.

The crime was committed within a few miles of the Canadian frontier. Suppose the assassin had been able to escape to Canada. Could any British authorities have hesitated under any circumstances to give up a man who had sought on their soil after such an act the asylum their treaties have invariably granted for a political offence?

Bear in mind that the latest and only provision in any treaty of extradition between Great Britain and the United States that could apply to the case at all, that of March 11, 1890, expressly stipulates that fugitives from justice shall neither be surrendered nor punished for crimes of a political character; and further that on the question whether a crime is of a political character the decision of the government in whose jurisdiction the criminal is found must be final. It is pertinent also to recall that after the attempted assassination of the Third Napoleon in Paris by Orsini, by which a large number of victims were killed and many more maimed, the French Government suggested to Great Britain the surrender or further provision for the punishment of participants in this or kindred plots who had found asylum in London, and were in fact believed to have there originated and perfected their conspiracies; that the British Government did not comply; and that the Prime Minister who attempted to comply, Lord Palmerston, was thereby driven from office. It is equally pertinent to remember that never, with the exceptions of Belgium, Russia and Luxemburg, until some time after this assassination at Buffalo—never in fact until June 14, 1902, did the United States have a treaty for such surrender with any other nation, that its Ministers had more than once been cautioned against encouraging requests for such a clause in negotiations for any treaty, and that the only additional countries it has such treaties with to-day are Brazil and Denmark. At the time, therefore, although we had already suffered from two previous Presidential assassinations, we had not only made no agreement with Great Britain, but we had never made an agreement with any nation of the first rank (save one) to return such a prisoner ourselves, and were in no position to demand as a right more than we had stipulated to concede; while Great Britain was in some sort committed against such return in the conspicuous case I have named. On the other hand, let us always gratefully remember that when there was

thought to be some reason for imagining that the assassin of Abraham Lincoln might seek an asylum in England, our representative then at the Court of St. James, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, was able to report promptness and good will at the Foreign Office in facilitating any application that might be made for his surrender. It is also most gratifying to remember, as that accomplished student of International Law, Professor John Bassett Moore, of Columbia, reminded us in his "Case of the Salvadorean Refugees," that in June, 1894, a third of a century after the Orsini case, the Court of Queen's Bench delivered up to France a fugitive charged with the explosion at the Café Vêry, holding that, "in order to constitute an offence of a political character, there must be two or more parties in the State, each seeking to impose the government of their own choice on the other," and that the offence must be "committed by one side or the other, in pursuance of that object."

Of course this last decision makes the extreme case, as I have stated it, of a possible refusal to surrender the assassin of McKinley quite beyond all probabilities. Without a reasonable doubt he would have been surrendered at the earliest moment at which the requisite formalities could have been concluded. But it would have been an act of sympathy and international comity, due to the good will of the British Government of the day and its abhorrence of an atrocious crime, and not to the established law and practice of nations, or consistent with any uniform practice of its own.

**The Assassination of Chief Magistrates**

The state, then, of international law at the time of our last Presidential assassination, the record of some foreign governments, and the tenderfootedness of a part of our own treaty-making power on the subject of extradition are such that it may be useful to seize the occasion for reviewing our own actual attitude toward the most startling and, in view of certain tendencies of the age, the most dangerous of modern crimes.

At the outset we may take it for granted, I think, that it is not consistent with the dignity of the United States to be dependent on mere international comity or on isolated decisions, or on national sympathies or political currents at the moment in the country from which it may seek to reclaim such a criminal. As little is it consistent with the justice of the United States that it should leave its own attitude toward a foreign call on it for the surrender of such a criminal, to depend on the effect similar circumstances might produce upon the disposition of its Administration then in power. *Lex scripta manet.* This is too serious a

business to be left to good understandings and prevailing political currents. It surely ought to be embedded, for any two lands between which such a case can arise, in a written and solemn engagement which shall be for both of them the supreme law,—in fair weather or in foul, in times of cordiality or in times of alienation.

It is only twenty years ago that the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the real ruler of that land under the British sovereign, was assassinated in Phœnix Park. Suppose one of the men implicated in the plot had sought asylum in the United States?—as one of those thought to be involved in a subsequent plot did,—the person known for a time as "No. 1" and afterward as Tynan. Who does not know what would have been the temper, not merely of large classes of our population, but of many leaders in both political parties, in view of the feeling about Irish affairs then existing among us, toward any attempt at his extradition? Who does not see that the best intentions of the party in power here might have had a chance at least to end, in such a case, just as the best intentions of Lord Palmerston did, in nothing but political disaster? Can we afford to leave, or encourage other nations to leave, at the mercy of such fluctuating circumstances the punishment of a crime which strikes at the foundation of organized government itself?

The exact state of our own treaty law on the subject is this:

Practically every extradition treaty the United States now has in force contains a clause which stipulates that "the provisions of the present convention shall not be applied in any manner to any crime or offence of a political character." Trivial variations in phraseology occur in several of the treaties, but nothing materially restricting the meaning till we come to those already alluded to with Belgium in 1882 and with Luxemburg in 1883. There, for the first time, appeared an agreement that "an attempt against the life of the head of a foreign government, or . . . any member of his family, . . . comprising . . . murder, assassination or poisoning, shall not be considered a political offence."

It took the second Presidential assassination to bring us to that. Even then we were disposed to draw back, and requests for a similar agreement were set aside in the case of larger and more important nations. It took the third Presidential assassination to bring us, late and reluctant, to the present conventions with Brazil and Denmark. That with Denmark is of similar purport with the Belgian treaty. That with Brazil adds also to its exemption of heads of Government the Governors of States. With England, France, Germany, Austria, Spain, Italy, Mexico,

Chili, the Argentine Republic — with most of the world, in fact, we have no such agreement, but stand where we were. And our Department from the outset has held that "as a general rule there can be no extradition to a foreign State without treaty."

Statesmen have not hesitated to defend the old position, according to their lights. Thus Mr. Jefferson, as Secretary of State, wrote in 1792 to our Ministers:

> "Most codes extend their definition of treason to acts not really against one's country. They do not distinguish between acts against the Government and acts against the oppressions of the Government. The latter are virtues, yet have furnished more victims to the executioner than the former. . . . The unsuccessful strugglers against tyranny have been the chief martyrs of treason laws in all countries. . . . Treasons, then, taking the simulated with the real, are sufficiently punished by exile."

Under that doctrine, strained to the limit, sustained by existing treaty protection for political offences and unrelieved by the general human abhorrence of monstrous crime, Czolgosz might have been sufficiently punished by exile.

Mr. President Tyler, in construing the treaty with Great Britain, said, in a document no doubt from the pen of his Secretary of State, Daniel Webster:

> "In this . . . enumeration of crimes the object has been to exclude all political offences, or criminal charges, arising from wars or intestine commotions. Treason, misprision of treason . . . and other offences of similar character are excluded."

In quite recent years, men whose views controlled treaties have been known to object successfully to an agreement that the murderer of a King or a Czar should be distinctly excluded from the protection accorded to "political criminals."

Great Britain has at times eagerly sought what she has not always been willing to grant. She demanded from Denmark and the Low Countries the delivery of the regicides, and secured it. Again, in 1799, she secured from Hamburg the return of Napper Tandy and other Irish insurgents. On that occasion Napoleon Bonaparte addressed to the Senate of Hamburg this vehement reproach:

> "Your letter does not justify your conduct. Virtue and courage are the support of States; servility and baseness their ruin. You have violated the laws of hospitality in a manner which would bring the blush of shame to the wandering tribes of the desert."

It was an irony of fate that his nephew, the Third Napoleon, should be found demanding in a graver case a like violation of

the laws of hospitality, and should meet a refusal from the very nation that had profited by the act of the Senate of Hamburg. "Ought English legislation," exclaimed Count Walewski, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, "to give hospitality to assassins, contribute to favor their designs and shelter persons who by their flagrant acts put themselves outside the pale of common rights and under the ban of humanity?" But his eloquence was in vain, and the only remedy was the outburst from officers of the French army, formally and fervently declaring their eagerness for a settlement "with the foul land which contains the haunts of these monsters who are sheltered by its laws." Nor is the United States able to claim that it is clearly and beyond possibility of question above the like reproach. If the assassin of that spotless President of the French Republic, M. Sadi Carnot, had escaped to our shores, we should surely have returned him as a voluntary act, but we had not, and we have not to this day, a treaty with France that would have required our surrendering him to justice.

The progress we have made since the assassination of McKinley starts us on the road to remove such reproaches. But for two exceptions the treaty with Brazil might be taken as embodying what in these days must be held the obvious duty of any civilized nation in the premises. It fails, however, to include all those who in either country stand in the line of succession, and it unhappily limits its exclusion of these crimes from the category of political offences rigidly to the case when they are "unconnected with political movements." Through the meshes of that last clause half the assassins in question could claim a right to escape. But with the precedents already established and with the present temper of the Senate, there seems to be no reason now why we might not promptly conclude treaties with all nations on the basis of that with Russia, merely extending it so as to include those in either country in the direct line of succession to the headship of the Government, and perhaps adding also in some form the protection of the Brazilian treaty for Governors of States.

The commonplaces of International Law and of our own practice on the subject are no doubt too familiar to require more than the briefest statement. Our government sprang from a revolution, and naturally cannot hold revolt against unjust rule a crime. No nation can be required to enforce within its own boundaries another nation's laws. The easiest and proper place to try for a crime is where it was committed. No nation can be expected to send back for such trial persons accused of acts which it does not hold criminal. It may even admit their criminality, and yet, be-

fore returning them, stipulate against a punishment greater than it thinks warranted by the nature of the crime. In proportion to the liberality of its own institutions, a nation will be predisposed to as lenient a view as possible of political offences arising out of efforts to liberalize to a similar point the institutions of other nations. The general exemption of political offences from the operation of extradition treaties among the more advanced nations thus has its origin in the nature of things. It cannot be prevented, and it ought not to be.

But since we began this exemption, enormous changes in the conditions affecting many revolts against established authority have occurred, without leading to any corresponding change in our policy. The movement from which many recent political offences spring is one not against an oppressive authority in favor of a more just one, but against any authority. Sometimes its advocates dream of an entire change in the principles of government, by which it shall cease to protect individual rights in property, and materially modify individual rights of the person. If they do not thus stop short at Communism, they go on to the overthrow of all existing government, the destruction of all authority.

These are principles that have nothing in common with the liberal institutions to which we are devoted, and struggles for which by others we have been unwilling to punish. They are principles as antagonistic to our welfare as to that of any monarchy or any autocracy. There is no reason in our views or our interests why we should protect fugitives guilty of crimes in the promotion of such principles, and no reason in the nature of things why any organized government of any sort should. They are necessary outlaws in all nations. The most vital question which every successful effort of theirs raises for us, and for all the world, is not, What form of government shall we favor? but, Shall we have any form of government? Their methods are those of the conspirator rather than the revolutionist, and their weapons the dynamite bomb, the revolver and the dagger. It is not to be tolerated that the fame of our Republic should be sullied by the slightest shade of sympathy in its international policy with these enemies of mankind who may seek shelter under our historic favor for political prisoners.

**Anarchism**

If in this summary of what I have termed the commonplaces of the subject I have not outrun your approval, you will then be ready to regard it as imperative on the United States, as a first step and at an early day, to free every extradition treaty it has

with any other nation from their present quasi protection under the guise of mere political offenders for the assassins of heads of government. You will be apt, I think, to go farther, and approach at least the views jointly expressed to us in the December following the assassination of President McKinley by the governments of Germany and Russia. They thought this, with previous anarchistic crimes and attempts upon the lives of Chief Magistrates, rendered it terribly evident that a struggle against the menace of anarchy is an urgent necessity for all governments. They accordingly proposed concert of action in measures to check the anarchistic movement, the strengthening of the penal code against anarchists, and particularly the expulsion of anarchists from countries of which they are not subjects.

The President had already recommended to Congress measures for keeping them out of the country, for deporting them if found here, or for their punishment; as well as an agreement by treaties making anarchy an offence against the law of nations. The response of Congress was a law merely forbidding the future admission of anarchists, or the naturalization of such as may be here. Meantime nothing is done to limit their present asylum here, and little to restrain their open propagandism.

At the same time the bill for protecting the life of the President failed, because certain Senators held that the head of the Government was entitled to no greater protection before the law than its humblest or most worthless and vicious citizen. Their motives are beyond reproach, but to me at least their logic and law seem to belong not to the America of which we are so proud, but to the sans-culotte period in France.

The efforts to overturn established governments or to throw all governments into chaos by the assassination of Chief Magistrates seem to have grown steadily more frequent and monstrous through the past century. The resulting situation is as bad now as at any period in the world's history more recent than the Roman Empire in the days of its decadent Cæsars. In forty years we have ourselves lost three noble Presidents by assassination, besides having a distinguished Secretary of State and his son murderously assaulted and the former maimed for life. In an imperfect list of assassinations, successful or attempted, on sovereigns or other Chief Magistrates during the last century, I have counted up over forty,—more than one in three years, nearly one every other year! And among them were the emancipating Czar of Russia, the emancipating President of the United States, the humane King of Italy, and the blameless and progressive President of France. To these might be fairly added

that most pitiful figure of all, the sad and suffering Empress of Austria. The men who committed some of these crimes are said to have enjoyed our hospitality and to have been chosen by lot for their infamous work at meetings under our protection. In at least one case a public meeting has been held to rejoice over the assassination of one of the most liberal and liberty-loving of modern Kings, if not to claim a share of the credit.

Gentlemen of the Yale Law School, is this your loftiest conception of law and of human rights? I present that foreign suggestion for surveillance of the anarchists and for their expulsion from all countries of which they are not subjects or citizens; and I put it to you whether the representatives of the Emperor and the Czar in that crisis came nearer than the American Congress to the demands of the highest Christian civilization.

# APPENDIX

MEMORANDUM OF POLITICAL CHANGES IN VENEZUELA AND THE CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES, PREPARED BY RICHARD LEE FEARN, FROM DOCUMENTS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

## VENEZUELA.

1811 July 14, Independence proclaimed; bloody fighting until Spaniards were driven from Venezuela and Peru.
1822 Bolivar chosen dictator by Peru, Paez being his military chief of Venezuela, the seven years succeeding.
1829 November, Caracas declared for Paez as Supreme Chief, disavowing Bolivar's authority, the latter being then in Colombia.
1830 Paez elected first President.
1835 "Revolucion de las Reformas" deposed and expelled second President Vargas. Paez took the field against "Reformistas"; civil war until
1836 "Reformistas" subjugated.
1839 Paez became "legitimate" head of Republic and ruled until
1847 General Jose Tadeo Monagas elected sixth President; Paez revolted against Monagas, who finally drove him from the country.
1854 J. T. Monagas forced to abdicate by fusion of the two parties (Oligarquia and Liberal). Succeeded by his brother Jose Gregorio Monagas, who had alternated with him in the Presidency since 1847.
1858 Monagas overthrown by General Tovar Castro, who became President; quickly succeeded by Gual and Paez in turn.
1859 General Falcon (Liberal) took Caracas and proclaimed himself; civil war until
1863 Falcon pacified the country, only to be quickly overthrown by a pronunciamento in favor of J. T. Monagas.
1870 Guzman Blanco (Liberal) took possession of Caracas, announcing himself dictator.
1873 Blanco elected President and acknowledged by whole country. Was autocrat with various figureheads in Presidency for 18 years.
1890 Raimundo Andueza Palacio elected by acclamation in Congress; inaugurated February 20 for two years.
1892 Palacio set himself up as Dictator, was denounced as usurper, and Joaquin Crespo, assisted by Rojas Paul, led revolt to enforce the Constitution. In five months Palacio fled the country, being succeeded in rapid succession by Urdaneta, Mendota, and Pulido. Crespo triumphed in October, was proclaimed provisional President and immediately ordered election for National Assembly, which met in
1893 October, and elected Crespo for a four-year term commencing February 20, 1894.
1894 Many small and brief revolts in various parts of the country.
1895 A larger revolt in favor of Rojas Paul, but soon smoothed over at instance of United States minister on account of need of national unity because of boundary dispute reaching acute phase.

1897 Andrade (Liberal) elected over Rojas Paul by overwhelming majority.
1898 General Hernandez started rebellion in which Crespo was killed in April; collapsed in June—caused by Andrade's dictatorial acts.
1899 Cipriano Castro (Liberal), Governor of Los Andes, took up last year's revolt; forces grew as he proceeded until Andrade fled the country in October. Castro became provisional President.
1900 Disaffection and fighting in many parts of the country until July, when peace and amnesty were proclaimed.
1901 Exiles invaded from Colombia; martial law all the year; half a dozen bodies in as many parts of the country in interest of various exiles including Hernandez and Matos. Castro formally elected President in October for two years.
1902 General Manuel A. Matos (formerly minister of the treasury under Crespo), "richest of Venezuelans," had as many as 15,000 men at one time, and controlled many interior sections, including Orinoco, but fled to Curaçoa in October, his numerous generals keeping up the revolt out of the reach of government troops.
1903 April, Matos in control of Eastern part of country.

## GUATEMALA.

1825 April, Arce elected first President Central American Republic, followed by two years' fighting.
1828 February, "Arce retired without resigning."
1829 April, General Francisco Morazan, of Honduras, overthrew Central government, establishing Barrundia as President, subsequently taking the office himself.
1838 February, Rafael Carrera, mob leader, seized Guatemala, destroyed Morazan's power, leading in 1840 to destruction of Central American Republic.
1844 Rafael Carrera caused Guatemala to elect him President, had his term extended in 1854 "for life," and ruled till his death in 1865.
1870 Justo Rufino Barrios after several years' fighting secured absolute control of government and had himself elected President.
1887 June, President Manuel L. Barillas established temporary dictatorship on account of revolutionary bands menacing government.
1890 State of anarchy throughout country: son of Barrios, late dictator, and numerous other discontents, encouraged by Ezeta, President of Salvador, opposed Barillas, who continued dictator. General Alfonso Irungaray issued pronunciamento, and, joined by 1500 deserters, seized the capital, but failed to hold it. Dr. Rafael Ayala, "actual" Vice-President, set up a rival government, which lasted only a few months, until Barillas obtained peace with Salvador through mediation of American Minister.
1891 Barillas kept busy suppressing small risings.
1897 June to October, futile revolt, led by Vice-President Morales, with much fighting, because national assembly had prolonged term of President Barrios four years.
1898 Barrios murdered by British subject. Cabrera, friend of late dictator, was proclaimed acting President, in the absence of Vice-President Morales, who returned to take his place by force, but (September) Cabrera was elected President.

## HONDURAS.

1828 to 1840 H. H. Bancroft gives list of 19 rulers in this period.
1865 José Maria Medina made President at dictation of Guatemala, after revolutions.

1872 March 25, Celeo Arias made President by Salvador and Guatemala, revolutions following.
1874 January 13, Ponciano Leiva overthrew Arias and established himself as dictator.
1876 June 8, Marco Aurelio Soto, Guatemalan ex-minister of foreign affairs, made President by Guatemalan troops.
1890 General Sanchez compelled President Bogran to become a fugitive from the capital, which Bogran recaptured in a few weeks.
1891 General Leiva again elected President; General Policarpo Bonilla, the rival candidate who received only one-third as many votes, raised 1400 men in revolt, but they were soon dispersed.
1892 Bonilla was proclaimed President by Liberals, General Leiva having resigned in favor of General Vasquez, his Minister of War, who finally in
1893 June, compelled revolutionists to disband, with Bonilla a fugitive.
December, Bonilla returned from Nicaragua, overthrew Vasquez, and in
1894 Autumn, had himself overwhelmingly elected President and his brother, Vice-President.

## SALVADOR.

No peace at all until 1865.
1872 Liberals, assisted by Honduras, overthrew President Duenas, who had been installed by Guatemala in 1865.
1876 Valle ousted from Presidency by Guatemalans.
1890 June 22, President Mendenez killed at anniversary banquet. General Carlos Ezeta arrived with 600 men and was proclaimed provisional President.
Zaldivar, who had been living in Paris, and Alvarez, in Guatemala, raised forces in their own behalf, and General Rivas raised force in behalf of Vice-President Ayala.
Congress in September "unanimously elected" Carlos Ezeta provisional President until March, 1891.
1891 Numerous plots against Ezeta, who had himself elected for four years' term. Ayala, his principal rival, and several others were assassinated.
1894 General Rafael Antonio Gutierrez and army officers started revolution against Ezeta, April (Carlos, President, and Antonio, Vice-President), who fled (June).
Gutierrez proclaimed himself President, June 24.
1895 Ezeta brothers made a weak attempt to reassert themselves.
1896 Several small outbreaks.
1898 General Tomas Regolado headed an insurrection just before election of successor to Gutierrez and established provisional government without bloodshed.

## NICARAGUA.

1824 to 1840 continuous fighting; numerous successful revolts; all rulers chosen by force.
1855 William Walker (filibuster) captured government and elected himself President in 1856.
1891 Roberto Sacasa "had himself elected"; small risings, because he expelled prominent men, quickly quelled.
1893 Joaquin Zavala and others united to overthrow Sacasa; organized provisional government, with Morales nominal President; American minister mediated, Sacasa resigning to Machado until election could be held. Zavala's army was admitted to Managua to disband, but seized the town (July), Zavala proclaiming himself President,

but gave way (August) to Zelaya, chosen as a compromise between opposing political parties. Colonel Ortiz with 10,000 armed men had in the meantime captured Corinto and proclaimed himself provisional President, but finally recognized the election of Zelaya.

1894 Marked by small disaffections in favor of Ortiz.

1896 Determined attempt to overthrow Zelaya, who promptly declared himself dictator.

(February) Vice-President Baca proclaimed himself provisional President, was assisted by Ortiz. Zelaya, helped by Honduras, triumphed (May).

1898 February, small revolts suppressed.

1899 Revolt in Mosquito territory very brief.

## COSTA RICA.

1838 May, Braulio Carillo overthrew Jefe, of Costa Rica.

1841 General Morazan, of Honduras, seized government in April, to be driven out in September.

1855 July, General Juan Lopez drove out President Cabanas and caused new election to be held.

1859 August 14, Juan Rafael Mora, who had been elected by the masses three months before, was deposed by the property owners, merchants, and army and a successor duly elected.

1860 Mora landed with four hundred men but was captured and shot (September).

1869 Lorenzo Salazar, Maximo Blanco, and others headed a pronunciamento, deposed President Castro, and installed in his place Jesus Jiminez, who was First Designado.

1870 Jiminez similarly deposed and Bruno Carranza proclaimed in his place.

1877 Revolutionary movement forced President Herrara to surrender office to Tomas Guardia, who was President in 1872, and who the year before was First Designado, Herrara being Second.

1892 President Rodriguez dissolved Congress and suspended constitutional rights because of differences in policy; no fighting.

1893 Conspiracy to overthrow Rodriguez nipped in the bud.

## MEXICO.

"Between 1821 and 1868 the form of government was changed ten times; over fifty persons succeeded each other as presidents, dictators, or emperors; both emperors were shot,—Iturbide in 1824, Maximilian in 1867,—and, according to some calculations, there occurred at least three hundred pronunciamentos."—*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th Edition.

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TEXT OF THE LAW AGAINST ANARCHISTS PASSED ON THE LAST NIGHT OF THE LAST SESSION OF CONGRESS:

*From Chapter* 1012, *Session II, LVIIth Congress. Statutes at Large.*

§ 2. That the following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States: All . . . anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all government or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials; . . .

§ 38. That no person who disbelieves in or who is opposed to all organized government, or who is a member or affiliated with any organization entertaining and teaching such disbelief in or opposition to all organized government, or who advocates or teaches the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, shall be permitted to enter the United States or any Territory or place subject to the jurisdiction thereof. This section shall be enforced by the Secretary of the Treasury under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe.

That any person who knowingly aids or assists any such person to enter the United States or any Territory or place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or who connives or conspires with any person or persons to allow, procure, or permit any such person to enter therein, except pursuant to such rules and regulations made by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be fined not more than five thousand dollars, or imprisoned for not less than one nor more than five years, or both.

§ 39. That no person who disbelieves in or who is opposed to all organized government, or who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining and teaching such disbelief in or opposition to all organized government, or who advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, or who has violated any of the provisions of this Act, shall be naturalized or be made a citizen of the United States. All courts and tribunals and all judges and officers thereof having jurisdiction of naturalization proceedings or duties to perform in regard thereto shall, on the final application for naturalization, make careful inquiry into such matters, and before issuing the final order or certificate of naturalization cause to be entered on record the affidavit of the applicant and of his witnesses so far as applicable, reciting and affirming the truth of every material fact requisite for naturalization. All final orders and certificates of naturalization hereafter made shall show on their face specifically that said affidavits were duly made and recorded, and all orders and certificates that fail to show such facts shall be null and void.

That any person who purposely procures naturalization in violation of the provisions of this section shall be fined not more than five thousand dollars, or shall be imprisoned not less than one nor more than ten years, or both, and the court in which such conviction is had shall thereupon adjudge and declare the order or decree and all certificates admitting such person to citizenship null and void. Jurisdiction is hereby conferred on the courts having jurisdiction of the trial of such offense to make such adjudication.

That any person who knowingly aids, advises or encourages any such person to apply for or to secure naturalization or to file the preliminary papers declaring an intent to become a citizen of the United States, or who in any naturalization proceedings knowingly procures or gives false testimony as to any material fact, or who knowingly makes an affidavit false as to any material fact required to be proved in such proceedings, shall be fined not more than five thousand dollars, and imprisoned not less than one nor more than ten years, or both.

The foregoing provisions concerning naturalization shall not be enforced until ninety days after the approval hereof.

Approved March 3, 1903.

"Our Foremost Friend in Great Britain."

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# AN ADDRESS BY . . .
# . . . WHITELAW REID

AT THE UNVEILING OF A TABLET IN MEMORY OF

# EDMUND BURKE,

PLACED ON HIS OLD RESIDENCE AT BATH BY THE MUNICIPALITY, OCTOBER 22ND, 1908.

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HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS,
LONDON, 1908.

of British soldiers who won imperishable renown in two remote continents, Lord Clive in Asia, Gen. Wolfe in America. You have cherished, likewise, the memories of residents of gentler fame. Here, on this very North Parade, as your tablets show, dwelt Goldsmith, whom to this day all men love, and Wordsworth, whom all admire. On the South Parade is seen your tribute to the best novelist Britain had to that time produced, Sir Walter Scott, and there is place for another to one of the greatest men of letters she ever produced, Samuel Johnson. Your other novelists range from Henry Fielding and Jane Austin to Charles Dickens; and your poets from George Crabbe to Thomas Moore and Walter Savage Landor; while, with impartial hands, you have placed tablets also for Gainsborough, the artist, Quin, the actor, and Herschell, the astronomer.

And yet, gentlemen of Bath, in all this brilliant galaxy you have left the greatest to the last. He was more nearly your own, too, than many of the others. It was here he

found his devoted wife. Perhaps the most fruitful period of his great public career he spent as the representative in the House of Commons for your nearest neighbours, the people of Bristol. Here he came repeatedly for rest and enjoyment; and here he came too when he knew the shadow of death was upon him. In this very house he spent the last months in which any activity was left him, and he only quitted it for the serene and beautiful death-bed at Beaconsfield.*

Did I go too far in rating him the greatest

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* The day before Mr. Burke left Bath, for the last time, May 23, 1797, he sent a letter to Mrs. Leadbeater, written by another hand, but with a tremulous signature from his own, saying:

"I feel as I ought to do your constant hereditary kindness to me and mine. What you have heard of my illness is far from exaggerated. I am, thank God, alive, and that is all. Hastening to dissolution, I have to bless Providence that I do not suffer a great deal of pain . . . I have been at Bath these four months to no purpose, and am therefore to be removed to my own house at Beaconsfield to-morrow, to be nearer to an habitation more permanent, humbly and fearfully hoping that my better part may find a better mansion."

The same day he sent a letter to Arthur Young, beginning as follows:

"I am on the point of leaving Bath, having no further hope of benefit from these waters; and as soon as I get home, (if I should live to get home,) if I should find the papers transmitted me by your board, I shall send them faithfully to you, though, to say the truth, I do not think them of very great importance. My constant opinion was, and is, that all matters relative to labour ought to be left to the conventions of the parties; that the great danger is, in governments intermeddling too much."

you have yet commemorated? It is not so far as Macaulay went. He said quite simply that Edmund Burke was "the greatest man then living." We may be sure the eminent historian and almost omniscient scholar and critic forgot neither of two other great men then living, William Pitt or Charles James Fox, when he deliberately chose that superlative. It is not so far as Grenville went, when he said that Burke is to politics what Shakespeare is to the moral world. In considering that eulogium, however, I must confess that, while recognizing the propriety of coupling the names, I have often been puzzled to know whether Grenville meant that politics had nothing to do with morals, or merely that Shakespeare had nothing to do with politics. It is not so far as Mackintosh went, who considered Burke "without a parallel in any age or country, unless with Cicero and Lord Bacon;" or so far as Lord Morley went, who, seeking another standard of comparison, pronounced him your "greatest man since Milton."

There is an estimate in another place by this last accomplished statesman and man of letters, which I would like to quote. He said that Burke's "is one of the greatest names in the history of political literature. No one that ever lived used the general ideas of the thinker more successfully to judge the particular problems of the statesman. He was one of the great masters of the high and difficult art of elaborate composition."

This last indeed has been one of the complaints against him. Even now we hear occasionally from some Parliamentary authority, whose own speeches no doubt have their effect at the moment, but are found a few years later as dry as last year's prairie grass and as unreadable as a table of logarithms, that Mr. Burke would never do for the practical House of Commons of these times—he is too rhetorical and ornate. It may be so; it is not for me to defend the taste of the day in political discussions.

And yet, what could be terser, what could go more directly like an arrow to the heart of the matter in hand, than many of the epigrammatic sentences which sprinkle almost every page of his speeches. Take a very familiar example: "It looks to me narrow and pedantic to apply the ordinary ideas of criminal justice to this great public contest. I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." Has any recent orator, free from the alleged fault of too much rhetoric, condensed into fewer and more cogent words the argument against a historic error in the statesmanship of more than one land? Or take another example: "Gentlemen say America is an object well worth fighting for. Certainly it is, if fighting a people be the best way of gaining them." Or again, "Nobody shall persuade me, when a whole people are concerned, that acts of lenity are not means of conciliation." Or again, take the pregnant sentence into which he put the whole philosophy of his opposition to the French Revolution: "Whenever a

separation is made between liberty and justice, neither is in my opinion safe." Or again, take his whimsical expression of his dislike for the employment of Hessian soldiers against English Colonists: "I fairly acknowledge I have not yet learned to delight in finding Fort Kniphausen in the heart of the British dominions." Or again, his candid estimate of the success these Hessians gained: "You have the ground they encamp on, and you have no more." Or again, in resisting the reactionary tendencies which would have carried the rule of George III. back to the standard of Charles I.: "The people of England were then, as they are now, called upon to make Government strong. They thought it a great deal better to make it wise and honest." Or, to take a final example, what could better expose the imbecility of the proposal to treat privateering as piracy, and service in the colonial army as treason, and to enforce against both, where opportunity offered, the penalties in the statute of Henry VIII., than his scornful phrase:

"They think the defeats in America can be compensated by the triumphs of Tyburn."

If illuminating flashes like these are a fault in political discussion, they are at least a fault not too common among the public men of our day. Would that more debates were "too ornate and rhetorical" after this convincing fashion,—I will not say in your Parliament, for it would be unbecoming in me to express any opinion about that; but perhaps I may venture to say, would that there were more of them in our Houses of Congress!

Mr. Burke illustrated conspicuously, in this very neighbourhood, another quality not too common among our public men—however it may be with yours. He scorned to pander to the prejudices of his constituents, or bow to every gust of changing opinion, in order to hold their votes. Even when first a candidate in Bristol, he took pains to make it clear that he would not recognise their instructions as always

binding his action. "Your representative owes you," he exclaimed, "not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices that to your opinion." Later, when this attitude had excited discontent, he told them if they did not permit their member to act upon a very enlarged view of things, they would at length infallibly degrade their national representation into a confused and scuffling bustle of local agency. He knew efforts had been made to injure him in their eyes, but "the use of character is to be a shield against calumny." "I could not have served you as I have done," he proudly added to the electors, "and court you too. I canvassed you through your affairs and not your persons. You must look to the whole tenor of your member's conduct."

It proved in the end too much to hope for, even in a city like Bristol and with a man like Burke. Yet Bristol may well be proud of the wisdom that chose Burke as its representative during that part of his public service which

time has most thoroughly vindicated, and can join with us in admiring the fine and calm dignity with which he accepted his ultimate dismissal. He rejoiced that the justice of his course whether as to Ireland or America was no longer in doubt. "No," he exclaimed, "the charges against me are all of one kind, that I pushed the principles of general justice and benevolence too far, farther than a cautious policy would warrant, and farther than the opinions of many would go along with me. In every accident which may happen through life, in pain, in sorrow, in depression, and distress, I will call to mind this accusation and be comforted." If his lofty shade takes any cognizance now of human affairs, he may read what these communities themselves think of that accusation in the Bristol statue and the Bath tablet.

Naturally Mr. Burke never reached high office. He was a party man, and most useful and highly prized as such; but not what the managers call a safe party man; and he had

the defects of his oratorical temperament. It is not necessary, here and now, to dwell on these; but it ought always to be said when they are mentioned, that even his failings leaned to virtue's side. He shone in every field where his abilities were exerted, and left a great record in many—in economical reform, in defence of the principles underlying the Revolution of 1688; in tender care for the land of his birth and the Church of his mother; in resistance alike to the reactionary policy of the Ministry, to injustice in India, and to the destructive tendencies of the French Revolution. But I may be pardoned for thinking that the highest service of his whole illustrious career, the most courageous at the time, the wisest, the most farseeing, was found in his outspoken sympathy with the American Colonists, and in his protracted and unflinching resistance to the measures which brought about the American Revolution.

No other man in England, hardly one even

in America, saw quite so clearly as Edmund Burke that after an unwise Ministry had forced the colonists into a long war in defence of the English principle of no taxation without representation, the only possible outcome of the war by which the real England could succeed was an American victory. Yet no other deprecated the struggle so much; no other at the outset more sincerely desired to preserve the authority of Parliament and the just rights of the Crown. He even admitted the precedents, both on these islands and in the Colonies, for taxation without representation. But when once the right was determinedly challenged, he frankly recognized that, as he put it in lawyer-like phrase, "the assertion of the title would be the loss of the suit." While there was still a chance to draw back, he pleaded with the Ministry and with Parliament: "It is our business to rule, not to wrangle. It is poor compensation to triumph in a dispute, whilst we lose an empire." "Your ancestors," he exclaimed, "did at length open their eyes to the ill-husbandry of

injustice. They found that the tyranny of a free people could of all tyrannies the least be endured." And then he reminded the Ministry that, while reciting the entire and perfect authority of the Crown, its predecessors had nevertheless, with the approval of the Crown, given successively to various English communities and also to the Welsh all the rights and privileges of English subjects. "Are not the colonists," he demanded, "as much Englishmen as the Welsh?" By such steps he came to regard the struggle as not a rebellion, but a civil war, in which Englishmen in the colonies fought for old English rights, and in gaining these rights for themselves made them henceforth forever secure for England, too.

In fact, upon this common English heritage he grounded his appeals: "This fierce spirit of liberty," he told Parliament, "is stronger in the English Colonies, probably, than in any other people of the earth. They are not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles."

And again, "We cannot falsify, I fear, the pedigree of this fierce people, and persuade them that they are not sprung from a nation in whose veins the blood of freedom circulates. The language in which they would hear you tell them this tale would detect the imposition; your speech would betray you. An Englishman is the unfittest person on earth to argue another Englishman into slavery." He made his plea unanswerable by grounding it upon undisputed historical facts: "The feelings of the colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. They were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden, when called upon for the payment of twenty shillings." And later on in the discussion he uttered the prophetic warning, "English Colonies must be had on these terms, or not had at all."

What Mr. Burke constantly sought, in the American business, while it was possible, was reconciliation. His most important utterance during the long debate, from the Stamp Act to the Declaration of Independence, was

entitled "Conciliation with America," and English oratory contains no more powerful or persuasive plea for peace. A month after the momentous Declaration, he wrote: "We are deep in blood. God knows how it will be. I do not see how I can wish success to those whose victory is to separate from us a large and noble part of our empire; still less do I wish success to injustice, oppression and absurdity."

This sheer mental inability to support injustice was the key to his whole conduct in American affairs—to his whole conduct indeed in every public affair. It is this which makes his discussions of old Eighteenth century issues a vivid and vital part of the English literature you still cherish in the Twentieth century. Their great value was and is that he constantly looked to enduring principles for light on current problems. That was the crowning trait in the wonderful equipment which made him the greatest orator of his country, and its most splendid writer on

public affairs;—the only man, as a critic of the day said, who had combined the two qualities in like perfection since Cicero. Such rank he won, by contemporary judgment and by that of posterity, in an epoch of great men and great deeds—the greatest, as Lord Rosebery has somewhere observed, in the history of the world up to that time, since the coming of Christ.

I have not mentioned what many may now consider his highest claim on your grateful remembrance. He is the author of the successful imperial policy of Great Britain. The ablest imperialist of to-day could not state it more clearly or comprehensively than Burke did, almost exactly a century and a third ago. Let me read his outline:

> "My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government;—they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that

> your government may be one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened; and every thing hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. . . Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break the sole bond, which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the empire. . . It is the spirit of the English constitution, which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies, every part of the empire, even down to the minutest member."

The policy thus outlined was rejected, as you know, by the monarch of the day, with disastrous results. It has since been accepted with fervor and fidelity by his grand-daughter and his great-grandson. Under their beneficent reigns the British Empire has grown to deserve, far more fully even than when it was uttered, the familiar eulogy by the great Massachusetts Senator: "A power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and

military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." The earth is still circled with these, but now also with sweeter strains—those rising from the common language, common institutions and common aims and aspirations of a reconciled race, carrying civilization to the remotest parts of the earth, and making more and more for universal peace.

I have only one thing to add. The colonists whom Burke befriended were after all but a feeble folk, less than three millions, scattered along the Eastern fringe of a continent, with the ocean on one hand, and a savage wilderness on the other. They have since subdued the wilderness, overspread the continent and stretched out in either hemisphere to the islands of the sea. I am here on Burke's threshold, to utter the voice, feebly and inadequately, it may

be, but the authentic voice of that people of now nearly ninety million souls* in reverent and affectionate gratitude for the memory, the undying memory of their foremost friend in Great Britain.

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* The population of the United States was—

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|---|---|
| In 1880 ... ... ... | 50,155,783 |
| „ 1890 ... ... ... | 62,622,250 |
| „ 1900 ... ... ... | 76,303,387 |

The census taken by many States in 1905 showed the ratio of growth above indicated to be maintained or increased. But the addition of merely the growth in 1900 over 1890, (which was 13,681,137,) to the population for 1900, gives approximately for the population in 1910, 89,984,524. None of these figures include the insular dependencies, Philippines, Porto Rico, Guam or Samoa.

# APPENDIX.

## LOCAL ACCOUNT OF THE CEREMONIES.

*From* KEENE'S BATH JOURNAL, *October* 24, 1908.

The city of Bath has done honour this week alike to the memory of a great statesman whom she is proud to reckon among her host of distinguished residents during the eighteenth century, and to the official representative in this country of a young nation which cherishes the recollection of that statesman's friendship for it in dark and troubled days. The visit of the American Ambassador (Mr. Whitelaw Reid) on Thursday to unveil a tablet at 11, North-parade, recording the fact that Edmund Burke once dwelt there, has been the event of the week. The happy idea of commemorating by means of mural tablets the celebrities who in times past added distinction to the city has been very successful in drawing attention to the remarkable way in which Bath is, as one well-known visitor put it not long ago, "spotted" with historic houses. No fewer than 22 unveiling ceremonies similar to that in which the American Ambassador participated on Thursday afternoon have now taken place, and in addition several tablets have been placed in position without any speech-making; so that in all 34 of these plain but instructive and enduring records tell their own story to the observant passer-by. Many eminent men have visited Bath in connection with the ceremonies, but few such occasions, if any, have aroused more interest than that which we now record. Mr. Reid's own personality, and the fact that he came to Bath as the accredited representative of the United States, ensured for

him the heartiest of welcomes, and the city's traditions for hospitality were well maintained. The day's programme included, in addition to the actual unveiling ceremony, the presentation of an address of welcome to the Ambassador from the Town Council, a public luncheon, an inspection of some of Bath's most interesting architectural and other features, and a special illuminated concert at the Roman Promenade in the evening. There were appropriate decorations, in which the British and American flags were conspicuous, at the Guildhall and North-parade; and at the Guildhall there were also electrical illuminations in the evening, electric glow lamps being used to outline the face of the building. Mr. A. J. Taylor carried out the official decorations, which were supplemented by a display of flags by many residents, and Mr. Teague arranged the Guildhall illuminations. The general preparations for the visit inevitably involved a great deal of quiet, unseen work, and the Mayor (Mr. T. Hodgson Miller) was largely indebted to a committee who assisted him in this direction. Mr. T. Sturge Cotterell's long experience in the arrangement of similar functions was again of the greatest helpfulness, and Mr. B. R. F. Pearson assisted him in connection with the secretarial and organising arrangements.

The American Ambassador travelled in a saloon attached to the express train which leaves Paddington at 11 o'clock and arrives in Bath at 12.48. The portion of the down platform at which the slip coach stopped was decorated with flags, and here the Mayor, with whom was the Mayoress, awaited the arrival of the Ambassador. The ex-Mayor (Mr. S. W. Bush), the Mayor-elect (Mr. J. W. Knight), and the following past Mayors also welcomed the guest of the day:—Alderman Chaffin, Alderman Rubie, Alderman Major Simpson, M.C., Alderman Phillips, Alderman Henshaw, Mr. John and Alderman Oliver. Mr. Kislingbury, Divisional Superintendent of the G.W.R., was also present on the platform. The Mayor wore his robes of office. He shook hands with the Ambassador, who was introduced to the Mayoress and others present, and then proceeded to the Mayor's carriage. In this, with the Mayo[illegible]s. and Mr. Cotterell, he

drove off at once amid the cheers of the crowd which had gathered. An escort of six mounted police from Bristol rode in attendance upon the civic party. The carriage took a circuitous route to the Guildhall, where a large gathering of spectators heartily greeted the city's guest. The Abbey bells were rung in honour of the Ambassador's visit. Meanwhile the members of the Town Council had assembled in the Council Chamber.

### Presentation of an Address.

Thanks to the precautions taken, there was no over-crowding in the Council Chamber, when the formal address of welcome was presented to Mr. Whitelaw Reid. Although technically a special meeting of the Council, the visitors present far out-numbered the civic representatives. The ceremony was timed to commence at a quarter past one o'clock, and the Mayor, wearing his scarlet robes and gold chain of office, punctually made his appearance, followed by the American Ambassador, who was received with hearty cheers, the company standing.

Among those present were Aldermen J. Chaffin, Arnoll Davis, W. F. Gould, J. E. Henshaw, R. H. Moore, C. B. Oliver, E. E. Phillips, E. G. Peacock, J. Rubie, I. J. Stone, C. H. Simpson, A. Taylor, and T. Vincent, Councillors S. W. Bush, J. H. Colmer, T. S. Cotterell, A. H. Fortt, E. W. Farwell, H. Green, H. T. Hatt, J. Howard, B. John, Preston King, J. W. Knight, T. M. Gibson, S. Edwards, V. Evans, C. H. Long, W. F. Long, O. Newman, J. W. Paton, T. F. Plowman, G. F. Powell, P. C. H. Ryan, J. M. T. Reilly, J. A. W. Ricketts, F. W. Spear, S. Sydenham, G. Strange, T. Southwell, A. W. Thomas, H. J. Thomas, E. B. Titley, W. Tonkin, C. J. Tabor, W. Withers, E. White, and F. Young. The general company included the Mayoress, Lord Hylton (Lady Hylton was unadvoidably absent), Lord and Lady de Blaquiere, the Lord Mayor of Bristol and the Lady Mayoress, the Lord Mayor of Cardiff and

the Lady Mayoress, Sir Charles and Lady Hunter, the Archdeacon of Bath (Venerable Hylton Bothamley), the Rector of Bath and Mrs. Boyd, Mr. G. P. Gooch, M.P., Mr. Charles Morley, Colonel and Lady Mary Skrine, the Rev. C. Hylton Stewart, Dr. Perry Worden (American Consul at Bristol) and Mrs. Worden, Mr. A. M. Broadley, Judge Gwynne James, Colonel Clayton, Colonel Hunt, Colonel M. P. Ricketts, Mr. J. H. Holst, the Rev. C. E. B. Barnwell, Mr. Sydney Humphries (President of the Bristol Chamber of Commerce), Miss Johnson, Mr. W. L. Russell, Mr. and Mrs. J. Harris Stone, Mr. and Mrs. W. M. Stoffell, Mr. J. Allon Tucker, Mr. A. G. D. Moger, Mrs. Climenson (who through Mr. Broadley recently presented the city with a portrait and autograph letter of Burke), Mrs. Oliver, Mrs. Cotterell, Mrs. Rubie, Mrs. Jackman, Mrs. Vincent and many others, including a large contingent of representatives of the Press.

The Town Clerk having called over the roll of names of members of the Corporation, the minutes of the various committees printed upon the agenda were formally attested, and the Town Clerk then announced that the next "business" was the presentation of an address to the American Ambassador.

The MAYOR, whose rising was the signal for cheers, said :—

Gentlemen of the Council,—This is a rare and indeed unique occasion in the history of Bath. Throughout the long annals of our ancient city we have records of the reception of many distinguished visitors, but never before have the Council and citzens of Bath had the honour of offering a civic welcome to an Ambassador of the United States of America. (Cheers.) It was with the utmost pleasure that I received some little time ago the gratifying intelligence that his Excellency would consent to pay us a visit, and for his kind consideration in agreeing to do so, and for his ready response to my invitation, I beg to express not only my own sincere and hearty thanks as Mayor, but also the gratitude of all the citizens of Bath. (Cheers.) Sir, an address has been prepared for presenta-

tion to your Excellency, and we trust you will do us the honour of accepting this. I will call upon the Town Clerk to read the address.

The Town Clerk then read the address, which ran as follows:—

*To his Excellency the Honourable Whitelaw Reid, LL.D., D.C.L., Ambassador from the United States of America.*

We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the City of Bath, in Council assembled, desire to offer your Excellency a most cordial welcome to our ancient City.

The fact that your Excellency is the representative of a great and free country, closely allied to our own by blood-relationship, by a heritage of common traditions, and by the enduring link of a mutual esteem, enhances the honour you confer upon us by this visit. We earnestly trust that the two countries may ever stand shoulder to shoulder in their endeavours to promote the advancement of the human race and the maintenance of the peace of the world.

We value any association connecting us with the great nation you represent, and we take pride in the thought that your distinguished Senator, William Bingham, made his home here in the early years of the 19th century, and that his remains rest with us in our ancient and historic Abbey. In later years it has been our privilege to welcome others of your countrymen who have shed a lustre upon the land which gave them birth, among them Nathaniel Hawthorne, General Grant, and Russell Lowell.

We have a happy belief that your Excellency's presence amongst us may be regarded as a testimony that the interest in the historic associations of our city manifested, of late years especially, by so many of your fellow countrymen is fully shared by yourself.

In asking your Excellency to accept our grateful thanks for the honour you have conferred upon us by this visit, we would add our sincere desire that you may be long spared to serve the great national interests to which you have devoted yourself, and that you may be sustained in the discharge of your high responsibilities by a full measure of health and happiness.

Given under our Common Seal, this twenty-second day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and eight.

The address was handsomely illuminated and bound in book shape in green Morocco leather. On the cover was a medallion embracing the arms of the United States and Bath, with the respective mottoes, "E Pluribus Unum" and "Floreat Bathon." The arms were also prominent at the heading of the decorative lettering in which the address was written.

The Mayor then asked the American Ambassador graciously to accept the address.

### The Ambassador's Reply.

The American Ambassador, who was received with hearty cheers, said they did not need to be told of his high appreciation of the great honour which they had done him by their invitation, by the way in which they had received him, and, above all, by that most interesting and most complimentary address. (Cheers.) All this honour would naturally cover him as an American with blushes—they were familiar with the proverbial modesty of the American—(laughter), but he was restrained from indulging in that luxury of blushing by the recollection that he did not receive this honour in the least in his personal relation to them. It came to him solely because of the great country he had the honour to represent; and its representatives never blushed for it. (Laughter.) He had listened with the utmost interest to the associations that had been mentioned as connecting his country with their municipality. He was particularly struck by the fact that the great soldier who conducted them through the Civil War, and led at the close an army of a million men in its defence, had been their guest. He was interested, too, in seeing that among those whom they had honoured was one of the men of genius that his country had occasionally been able to harness to the hard task of the Consulate—Nathaniel Hawthorne—and also a distinguished predecessor in the representation of his country at the Court of St. James's,

whose literary reputation, he fancied, in the judgment of this country as well as of his own, had already out-lasted his own century and was sure to outlast ours. (Cheers.) The Mr. Bingham to whom they referred, whose last days were cared for here, and whose remains they cherished, was one of the early patriots who gave great service to his country during and at the close of the Revolutionary struggle; and yet he cherished close alliances with this country. The great English family of the Barings furnished him with two sons-in-law. The first came to be known both in their public life and in the history of their diplomatic relations as Lord Ashburton, and his name was for ever identified with an important negotiation managed on his part with the greatest tact and accompanied by the greatest popularity in America—a negotiation which he conducted with Daniel Webster, and which ended questions then in dispute about their boundaries, known as the Ashburton Treaty. His second son-in-law had, (by another marriage,) two sons who were not unknown in their life to-day—one of them, Lord Revelstoke, the other better known in their foreign service years ago as Sir Evelyn Baring, but who would occupy, he was sure, a permanent place in history as Lord Cromer. (Cheers.) Another gentleman, whose name he did not notice in the address, had been mentioned to him as being also a resident for years at Bath, and having been buried here. It was a name no American ought to hear without a feeling of gratitude—Thomas Pownall. He was sent out to America first as private secretary to that unfortunate Royal Governor who went to New York, but was so startled by the repressive orders he found he had to execute, and by the popular resistance to them, that he promptly committed suicide. Mr. Pownall remained and rendered various services to his Government, while at the same time endearing himself to the colonists. He was made Governor of Massachusetts. He really held two offices, because he was also made Lieutenant-Governor of New Jersey, and before the close of his service he was even offered the Governorship of South Carolina. He returned to this country to take a seat in Parliament, and to serve as a helpful friend of the American

Colonists so far as he could find it consistent with his duties to his own country. He had seen within the past few days in the newspapers an article which interested him. Though he supposed the question of the authorship of the "Letters by Junius" had been settled by Lord Macaulay's argument in favour of Sir Philip Francis, yet it was now, for a second time, attempted to be proved that they were only sent through Sir Philip Francis, and were actually written by Thomas Pownall. He did not accept that theory at all, but it was one of the curious things which had come to his notice in connexion with his visit. He thanked them for the reception they had given him and the great honour they had done him. (Loud cheers.)

### The Luncheon.

After the ceremony in the Council Chamber there was an adjournment to the Banqueting Room, where a recherché luncheon was served by Messrs. Fortt and Son. The Mayor presided, and had on his right the American Ambassador, next to whom were sitting the Mayoress (Mrs. Miller) and Miss Miller.

The company included:—Lord and Lady de Blaquiere, Lord Hylton, Sir Charles and Lady Hunter, the Lord Mayor of Bristol and the Lady Mayoress, the Lord Mayor of Cardiff and the Lady Mayoress, Mr. G. P. Gooch, M.P., Dr. Perry Worden and Mrs. Worden, the Archdeacon of Bath, the Rector of Bath and Mrs. Boyd, the Rector of Bathwick and Mrs. Hylton Stewart, Colonel and Lady Mary Skrine, Mr. Charles Morley, Mr. Sydney Humphries, Alderman Major Simpson, Miss Marshall, Mrs. Darley, his Honour Judge Gwynne James, Mr. Russell, the ex-Mayor (Mr. S. W. Bush), the Mayor-elect (Mr. J. W. Knight), Mrs. Wardle, Mr. Langfield Ward, Mrs. Underhill, Mr. E. Newton Fuller, Mr. T. G. Palmer Hallett, Rev. C. E. B. Barnwell, Alderman Colonel Arnoll Davis, J.P., Colonel M. P. Ricketts and Mrs. Ricketts, Mr. and Mrs. J. Harris Stone, Alderman E. E. Phillips and Mrs. Phillips, Alderman Chaffin, Colonel Clayton, Dr. Gervis, Alderman Henshaw and Mrs. Henshaw, Councillor H. T. Hatt, Mrs. Lorin A.

Lathrop, Councillor and Mrs. T. Sturge Cotterell, Alderman J. Rubie and Mrs. Rubie, Alderman and Mrs. Oliver, Dr. Ashford, Mr. L. C. Hare, Mr. A. J. Taylor, Councillor Dr. Preston King and Mrs. Preston King, Councillor Ricketts, Councillor Major Reilly, Councillor A. H. Fortt, Mr. H. Brice Mundy, Mr. and Mrs. W. Jackman, Councillor T. Maitland Gibson, Colonel H. V. Hunt, Colonel E. K. Perkins, Councillor Plowman, Mr. and Mrs. E. Lewis, Rev. A. E. Gardner, Mr. and Mrs. J. Allon Tucker, Councillor Titley, Alderman and Mrs. Vincent, Councillor Southwell, Councillor John, Councillor Tonkin, Councillor Young, Councillor Colmer, Mr. J. A. Timmins, Mr. W. E. Mallett, Alderman Peacock, Mr. H. W. Matthews, Mr. George Gregory, Mr. W. B. Gregory, Councillor Spear, Mr. Johan Holst, Mr. W. J. Royal, Councillor C. H. Long, Miss Stewart, Councillor and Mrs. W. F. Long, Councillor G. F. Powell, Councillor and Mrs. W. H. Bright, Mr. and Mrs. W. M. Stoffell, Councillor Dr. Tabor, Councillor Dr. Paton, Rev. and Mrs. W. P. Hanks, Mr. Talbot, Alderman Gould, Mr. and Mrs. G. F. Butcher, etc. The tables were elegantly embellished, the civic maces and Corporation plate enhancing the effect. Masses of yellow chrysanthemums were freely used. The Sword Bearer (P.C. Jordan) acted as toastmaster.

The loyal toasts were honoured on the proposition of the Mayor, the orchestra providing appropriate music.

The MAYOR then proposed the health of the guest of the day. "Bath," he said, "has many long, interesting associations with the past, the history of which can be traced back to a period before the time of the Roman occupation, a history that has entitled this city to lay claim to be one of the oldest in Great Britain. During all these centuries a long chain has been forged, link being added to link from by-gone days up to the present time. To-day yet another link will be welded to the chain, as we shall witness this afternoon the unveiling by the official representative of a great and friendly nation—(cheers)—of a memorial tablet erected to one of Britain's eminent sons.

According to our records, and as far as we can trace, this is the only occasion on which an American Ambassador has officially honoured us by visiting this city. We welcome him as the representative in this country of that great Republic, the United States of America. (Loud cheers.) It has often been said, and with good reason, too, that those in America and ourselves are cousins and kinsmen. Our friends across the Atlantic have on many occasions shown genuine feelings of sympathy, kindness, and devotion towards the Old Country, and we are pleased to-day to have an opportunity of reciprocating from our hearts their generous sentiments. With the United States and Great Britain joined in the bond of common brotherhood, supported by many mutual remembrances and associations, the peace of the world and the progress of civilization are, to all intents and purposes, assured. It has been my privilege to-day as Mayor to present an address to his Excellency on behalf of the citizens, and now it is my pride, pleasure and privilege as Mayor of this city to propose the toast of the day, namely, the health of his Excellency the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, the American Ambassador." (Loud cheers.)

The American Ambassador, who was cordially greeted, said: My first word must be one of grateful thanks, thanks from the heart, for the extraordinary honour you have shown me to-day in your reception, in the gracious address from your municipality, and now in these very kind terms in which your Worship has been pleased to propose my health and in the cordial reception you have all been good enough to give it. I understand perfectly that this comes to me out of regard for the great country which I have the honour to represent, and I thank you all the more for it on that account. It is a very great honour to be received by any municipality with such distinction and ceremony. It is a still greater honour to be received by a municipality like that of Bath, which has filled so large a space in the literary, social and political history of this country, especially during the 18th and 19th centuries. The air becomes almost oppressive to an American, when he realises the antiquity of the municipality. For it is not

merely in the 18th century that Bath became known. My friend, the late American Consul at Bristol, Mr. Lathrop (cheers), informed me the other day that you have in the Saxon chronicles of the time an authentic record, not of the life, but of the death of a Grieve of Bath—that Saxon official being, as I understand, the predecessor of the modern Mayor—you have a record of the death of such a municipal official in 906. I have confirmed this circumstance since I have been here, from the officials of Bath. Here, then, is a municipality with a thousand years' record of municipal government. Even that does not exhaust your experience, for long before that this spot must have enjoyed some form of municipal government, for many centuries under the Romans. As I said, this great antiquity, and above all those thousand years of municipal government continuously in one spot by Saxon or Anglo-Saxon rulers, almost overpowers the representative of a very young country. (Laughter.) Once or twice, I confess, I have been overpowered before in this country and elsewhere by our youthfulness. On a happy occasion when I was the recipient of hospitality at the hands of a very gracious hostess in a country house, I had been looking over the house, and was brusque enough to remark that it was a very old house. Evidently my charming hostess thought I might have known that before, for she replied, "Yes, Mr. Reid, it is old; in fact it was an old house before your country was discovered." (Laughter.) An experience similar to that has come to my mind since I have been sitting at this table—a reply made, not with intentional wit, but in pure simplicity, by my Egyptian dragoman once up the Nile. I asked when a certain thing had been built. He said, "Oh, that is modern; that's quite modern—but still it was built a good many centuries before your country was excavated." (Laughter.) We of this recent excavation look with admiration upon an antiquity which has records—such records as those of Bath. (Cheers.) We know particularly how many people who have made this their temporary or permanent residence have been associated with the interests of our country, and I can assure you that if I am the first Ambassador to visit

Bath, I am by no means the first Ambassador or the first American to know that in Bath we have a friendly city—a city which shares your wish, and the wish so kindly expressed in the address delivered an hour ago, that the peace which happily exists between us now may endure for ever—(loud cheers)—and let me break diplomatic reserve far enough to say that I can assure you that in no one year since 1776 have the relations between the two countries been more cordial than they are at this day. (Renewed cheers.) Gentlemen, I shall trespass far too long, I fear, upon your patience presently in what I believe it is the Parliamentary custom to describe as "another place." I will only repeat to you my warm thanks for the extremely kind way in which you have drunk my health, and in which it was proposed; and suggest that we might now adjourn to another spot which all of us know, whether in America or in England, as the scene of the interesting diplomatic negotiations between Sir Lucius O'Trigger and the kindly but acquisitive Lucy, and of that other and more striking interview in which Sir Anthony Absolute reasoned with such patience and candour and courtesy with his wayward and wilful son. I will not detain you longer from your proposed visit to the North Parade. (Cheers.)

Lord Hylton proposed the only other toast, the health of their host, the Mayor of Bath, and the Mayoress. Some water, he said, had flowed under their bridges since he first became acquainted with Bath, and a considerable number of Mayors had succeeded one another in their ancient and honourable office, but there had been no change during the whole of that time in the maintenance of the most graceful traditions of hospitality on the part of every Mayor of Bath. (Cheers.) The last time he had the honour of being the guest of a Mayor of Bath at a similar function was when Lord Roberts was received here and was given the freedom of the city. Lord Roberts represented the sword. Their guest that day represented a very different chain of associations; but all guests worthy of distinction were received in Bath with the honour due to them by the Mayors and by the citizens of Bath. He asked them to

drink to the health of the Mayor and Mayoress of Bath. (Cheers.)

The toast was received with much cordiality.

The MAYOR, responding on behalf of the Mayoress and himself, tendered very grateful thanks for the kind way in which the toast had been received, adding that there were many compensations for one's arduous duties as Mayor of the city. The presence of so many distinguished visitors was one, and there was further compensation in the fact that he had received very great assistance, as he had at all previous times, from his colleagues on the City Council, and from the committee who co-operated with him. To them he returned his very sincere thanks for the able assistance they had rendered. His twelve months' office would have been very hard for a comparative new comer had it not been for the kindness and support of his colleagues in the Council and the Town Clerk.

### THE UNVEILING OF THE TABLET.

After the luncheon a procession was formed and walked to the North Parade, where the unveiling ceremony was performed. The Mayor, who was accompanied by the American Ambassador, was preceded by the mace-bearers and the sword-bearer. A large concourse had assembled in the vicinity of Dr. Bowker's house, the one to which the tablet had been affixed. Fortunately the weather was fine, and the profusion of flags with which the approach to the North Parade bridge was decorated fluttered gaily in the breeze.

The MAYOR said :—My lords, ladies, and gentlemen, and citizens of Bath, this is a red letter day for Bath. We are honoured by having with us his Excellency the American Ambassador, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, the representative of a nation whose people are rich in resource, learned in the arts and sciences, and especially endowed with the inventive faculty ; a nation which has accomplished much for the advancement, the enlightenment, and the civilisation of the world. (Cheers.) In the name of the citizens, as Mayor of Bath, it affords me the greatest possible

pleasure to have the opportunity of extending to his Excellency a very sincere and hearty welcome to the Queen of the West. There is little need for me to introduce Mr. Whitelaw Reid: his name, I am sure, is known to all as a writer, diplomatist, and the representative of that great nation beyond the seas. To illustrious servants of the State and to many famous men and women tablets have been erected by the citizens of Bath to revere and perpetuate their memory, and have been unveiled by notable and distinguished men. The last to be unveiled was that commemorating the former residence of General Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, which was exposed to view in July last, by Sir Gilbert Parker, a Canadian; and it is interesting to observe that we have with us to-day, within three months of that ceremony, a native of that great neighbouring nation, the U.S.A. (Cheers.) Mr. Whitelaw Reid has paid a special visit to Bath for the purpose of seeing the city, and to become better acquainted with its historic past, and also to unveil the tablet which has been affixed to this house, namely, a tablet to remind us and those who come after us, that the celebrated orator and statesman, Edmund Burke, once dwelt in this city. It is now my pleasure to ask Mr. Whitelaw Reid if he will be so kind as to unveil the tablet. (Cheers.)

The American Ambassador, amid cheers, pulled a cord, thus drawing aside the curtain which veiled the tablet. This was precisely similar to the others which adorn historic houses, and bore the simple inscription "Here Dwelt Edmund Burke, b. 1729, d. 1797." He then delivered his address, the large audience listening with the utmost attention during the half hour he spoke, and repeatedly interrupting with applause.

As soon as the last cheers had died away, Alderman Henshaw, on behalf of the Mayor and Corporation and citizens of Bath, conveyed their grateful appreciation and hearty thanks to his Excellency for the honour he had done them in coming to Bath that day to perform that interesting ceremony. His duty, he said, would be incomplete if he did not add their hearty thanks for the magnificent address to which they had listened. That

tablet which had just been unveiled was one of a series erected by the Corporation of Bath upon various historic houses, intended to mark the association with the city of those who in bygone days had carved their names deep upon the history of their time, men marked and famous in many directions, and, it would only be fair to add, having regard to the present position, women also. That tablet would mark permanently the association of the city with that great-hearted statesman concerning whom they had just listened to a eulogy superior, he thought, in brevity and force to anything which had before been either written or spoken on the subject. It would for many many years to come help to keep his memory green. It would call aside the thoughts of those who passed by from the work-a-day world to a contemplation of the picturesque period in which Bath played so prominent a part. (Cheers.) It had served to-day to secure for them the visit of their esteemed guest which they all so much valued and appreciated. He had come to the conclusion that his Excellency knew about as much about Bath as any Bath citizen, and he would not be surprised to know that the citizens of Bath were indeed proud of their city—proud of its old associations and traditions, of the beauty of its surroundings, of its Roman remains, unequalled on this side of the Alps, of its world-famed mineral springs dispensing their cure to thousands of sufferers every year who came here on crutches and went away with their crutches over their shoulders; and proudest of all of its modern revival as one of the foremost spas in Europe. (Cheers.) They welcomed to Bath a great many American visitors in search of health or pleasure. They were very glad to have an American invasion of a peaceful kind. The American Ambassador's sojourn with them that day was short, but it might be that some time in the future, seeking rest from the arduous and important duties which he now so worthily fulfilled, he might again turn his eyes to the serene and peaceful Queen of the West, and come for even a longer stay. (Cheers.) They hoped that the visitors from the other side of the water would always be on the increase, and at any rate they could make this promise that they would do

their utmost to merit and maintain the reputation which it was their privilege to enjoy. (Cheers.)

On the suggestion of Alderman HENSHAW the large company, before dispersing, gave three rousing cheers in honour of the Ambassador.

The Ambassador afterwards visited the Abbey where he inspected with much interest Flaxman's beautiful monument to Bingham, which was pointed out to him by the Rector of Bath. In the evening Mr. Whitelaw Reid dined at the Empire as the guest of the Mayor, and at 9 o'clock he attended a special concert given in his honour at the Roman Promenade.

(4)

AN ADDRESS

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, ON CHARTER DAY

# OUR NEW INTERESTS

BY

WHITELAW REID

# OUR NEW INTERESTS

AN ADDRESS

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, ON
CHARTER DAY, MARCH 23, 1900

BY

WHITELAW REID

PRINTED FOR THE UNIVERSITY
1900

THE DE VINNE PRESS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
Berkeley, March 23, 1900.

At the celebration of Charter Day, the President of the University, Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, made the following remarks in introducing the Honorable Whitelaw Reid, Editor of the "New York Tribune," who delivered an address on "Our New Interests:"

> We are to-day assembled here in recognition of the pious devotion to public causes which laid the foundations of this University. Out of the harsh struggle with nature, out of the fierce rivalry of man with man, issued forth, here among the mines and fields, the higher consciousness that we are members one of another, and that man liveth not by bread alone. Out of the eater came forth meat, out of the strong came forth sweetness.
>
> The largest public spirit has always, in the history of men, sprung from the soil where individual force and aggressiveness have been at their highest tension. Along the route of commercial empire, as it advances from people to people, locate themselves the universities, the schools of art, the fountains of culture, — at Athens, Alexandria, Rhodes, Bologna, Paris, Leyden, Oxford. It is in the energy of conflict, in the flush of achievement, that the oxygen of action burns the poison of indifference out of human blood.
>
> When the material fruitage of achievement piles before him, how naturally may man, in a species of self-mockery, ply himself with the query,— "What is this all for?" — what was life for? Happy the man to whose eye it is given to see and to whose heart it is given to know that, after all, life is of no account, wealth is of no avail, power means naught, except as one committed for this brief space to the light of the sun and the opportunity of the earth shall, through his gettings and through his power and place, avail to make this world wherein he lives some little better for his having lived in it. The contribution to the common stock and not the hiding in a napkin becomes, in the eyes of the ultimate judge, and of the consummate justice, the final test of a successful life.
>
> There has been founded here at the gates of the West an institution which represents the finest temper of public spirit. The State has established it and will maintain it, but its development into the greatness that makes its field and its task must look to private aid, based upon the consecration of private holdings to the public welfare.
>
> There has been founded here at the gates of the West an institution which expresses in its highest form the ardor of public spirit. The State has founded it, but the State represents in its organiza-

tion but a fraction of those powers which society has assembled into itself — powers of wealth and powers of action; and so we shall not expect of the State more than a fraction of that which will be dedicated in wealth and action to the service of this University. This University will be what it shall be because of its response to public need, because of its alliance with public interests, because it shall be settled and intrenched in the hearts of the people of California. This University exists and has existed not for private uses. It exists to serve community interests, and those who are trained here, those who shall gather at this shrine must come, if they come in the spirit of the god of the place, in a spirit of devotion to public causes. The University does not exist that it may place special tools in any man's hands or equip him with arbitrary mechanism and recipe for achieving a personal position, or gaining a private and exclusive success. It exists that it may provide citizens for the State and members of society, men whose hearts shall be larger than the purposes of livelihood by the day, whose outlook shall be broader than the demand for private accumulation and the satisfaction of private ambition. God grant that as the days of the life of this institution are piled upon the days that have passed, there may, in increasing numbers, go forth from it men who are men, men who are clean, men who are strong, men who are true, men who are brave, men who are unselfish, men who will live for the public good, and who will know themselves not as individuals alone, but as members of families, members of communities, members of the State, and citizens of the commonwealth.

We are assembled here to-day under the opportunity of listening to a word concerning the fate, and the duty, and the interest of the country we love. I welcome you to the opportunity. I rejoice that the students entrusted to my care should have their minds turned, on occasions like this, to the supreme interests of the supreme commonwealth. It is fortunate for us that we can hear these things discussed by men of largeness of view, of largeness of heart, by men who have already devoted themselves and their substance largely to public aims; and it is with great pleasure that I introduce to you to-day a man who has served his country in high station, and served it well, a man who has the instincts of a scholar, and a knowledge of the world, a man who is in sympathy with students and academic interests, and who has the right to speak to you here to-day, a right he has won for himself, and which no man could give him, and no man could take from him. I introduce to you the Honorable Whitelaw Reid.

# OUR NEW INTERESTS

## AN ADDRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

My subject has been variously stated in your different newspapers as "Current National Questions," or "The Present National Question," or "General Expositions; not on Anything in Particular." When your President honored me with his invitation to a duty so high and so sudden that it might almost be dignified by the name of a draft, he gave me nearly equal license. I was to speak "On anything growing out of the late war with Spain."

How that war resembles the grippe! You remember the medical definition, by an authority no less high than our present distinguished Secretary of State. "The grippe," said Colonel Hay, "is that disease in which, after you have been cured, you get steadily worse every day of your convalescence"! There are people of so little faith as to say that this exactly describes the late war with Spain!

If one is to speak at all of its present aspects, on this high day of your University year, he should do so only as a patriot, not as a partizan. But he cannot avoid treading on ground where the ashes are yet warm, and discussing questions which, in spite of the present intermingling of party lines and confusion of party ideas, will presently be found the very battleground of campaign oratory and hostile hosts. You will credit me, I hope, with sufficient respect for the proprieties of this platform to avoid marked partizan arguments — even though fortified by the express warrant of your distinguished President to discuss National questions from any point of view that a patriot can take. It is profoundly to be regretted that on these questions, which pure patriotism alone should weigh and decide, mere partizanship is already grasping the scales. One thing at least I may venture to promise before this audience of scholars and gentlemen on this Charter day of your great University: — I shall ask the partizan Democrat of the present day to agree with me no farther than Thomas Jefferson went, and the

partizan Republican of the day, no farther than Abraham Lincoln went. To adapt from a kindred situation a phrase by the greatest popular orator of my native State, and, I still like to think, one of the greatest of the country in this century,— a phrase applied by him to the compromise measures of 1850, but equally fitting to-day, "If we are forced to part company with some here whom it has been our pleasure and pride to follow in the past, let us console ourselves by the reflection that we are following in the footsteps of the Fathers and saviors of the Republic, their garments dyed with the blood of the Red Sea, through which they led us out of the land of bondage, their locks still moist with the mists of the Jordan, across which they brought us to this land of liberty."

**To be taken for Granted now.**

Yet, even with those from whom we must thus part company there are elemental truths of the situation on which we must still agree. Some things reasonable men may take for granted: — some that surely have been settled in the conflict of arms, of diplomacy and of debate since the spring of 1898. Regret them if you choose; but do not, like children, seek to make them as though they were not, by shutting your eyes to them.

The new territories in the West Indies and the East are ours, to have and to hold, by the supreme law of the land, and by a title which the whole civilized world recognizes and respects. We shall not speedily get rid of them — whoever may desire it. The American people are in no mood to give them back to Spain, or to sell them, or to abandon them. We have all the power we need to acquire and to govern them. Whatever theories men may quote from Mr. Calhoun or from Mr. Chief-Justice Taney, the uniform conduct of the National Administration throughout a century, under whatever party, justifies the triumphant declaration of Daniel Webster to Mr. Calhoun, over half a century ago, and the consenting opinions of the Courts since, down to the very latest in the long line, by your own Judge Morrow, to the effect, in a word, that this Government, like every other one in the world, has power to acquire "territory and other property" anywhere and govern it as it pleases.

On these points I make bold to repeat what I felt warranted in saying a fortnight ago within sight of Bunker Hill, that there is every evidence that the American people have distinctly and definitely made up their minds. They have not been persuaded and they cannot be persuaded that this is an inferior

government, incapable of any duty Providence (through the acts of a wicked Administration, if you choose) may send its way,— duties which other nations could discharge, but we cannot. They do not and will not believe that it was any such maimed, imperfect, misshapen cripple from birth for which our forefathers made a place in the family of Nations. They are not misled by the complaint that in a populous region, thronged by the ships and traders of all countries, where their own prosecution of a just war broke down whatever guarantees for order had previously existed, they are violating the natural and inalienable rights of man, by enforcing order. Just as little are they misled by the other cry that they are violating the right of self-government, and the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, by preparing for the distracted, warring tribes of that region such local governments as they may be found capable of conducting in their various stages of development from pure barbarism toward civilization. The American people know that they are thus proceeding to do just what Jefferson did in the vast region he bought from France — without the consent, by the way, either of its sovereign or its inhabitants. They know that they are following in the exact path of all the constructive statesmen of the Republic, from the days of the man who wrote the Declaration and of those who made the Constitution, down to the days of the men who conquered California, bought Alaska, and denied the right of self-government to Jefferson Davis. They simply do not believe that a new light has been given to the present Apostles of a Little America, greater and purer than was given to Washington or to Jefferson, or to Lincoln.

So I venture to affirm, without qualification or reserve, that what is past cannot be changed. There is no possibility that any party in power, whether the present one or its opponent, would or could now or soon, if ever, abandon or give back one foot of the territory gained in the late war.

We are gathered on another old Spanish territory, gained by our country in war. It shows what Americans do with such acquisitions. Before you expect to see Porto Rico given back to Spain or the Philippines abandoned to Aguinaldo, wait till we are ready to declare, as Daniel Webster did in the Senate, that this California of your pride and glory is not worth a dollar, and throw back the worthless thing on the hands of unoffending Mexico. Till then, let us as practical and sensible men recognize that what is past is settled.

**Duty first; but then Interest also.**

Thus far have we come in these strange courses and to these unexpected and unwelcome tasks by following, at each succeeding emergency, the path of clear, absolute and unavoidable duty. The only point in the whole National line of conduct from the spring of 1898, on to this March morning of 1900, at which our Government could have stopped with honor, was at the outset. I for one would gladly have stopped there. How was it, then, with some at the West who are discontented now? Shake not your gory locks at me or at my fellow-citizens in the East. You cannot say we did it. In 1898, just as a few years earlier in the debate about Venezuela, the loudest calls for a belligerent policy came not from the East, "the cowardly, commercial East," as we were sometimes described, but from the patriotic and warlike West. The farther West you came, the louder the cry for war, till it reached its very acme and climax on what we used to call the frontier, and was sent thundering Eastward upon the National Capital in rolling reverberations from the Sierras and the Rockies which few public men cared to defy. At that moment perhaps, if this popular and Congressional demand had not pushed us forward, we might have stopped with honor; — certainly not later. From the day war was flagrant down to this hour, there has been no forward step which a peremptory National or international obligation did not require. To the mandate alone of Duty, stern daughter of the voice of God, the American people have bowed, as, let us hope, they always will. It is not true that, in the final decision as to any one step in the great movement hitherto, our interests have been first or chiefly considered. Thus far the path has been dictated by Duty, and Duty alone has led us where we are.

But in all these constitutional discussions to which we have referred, one clause in the Constitution has been curiously thrust aside. The framers placed it on the very forefront of the edifice they were rearing, and there declared for our instruction and guidance that "the people do ordain and establish this Constitution . . . to promote the general welfare." By what right do statesmen now venture to think that they can leave our National interests out of the account? Who and where is the sentimentalist who arraigns us for descending to too sordid a level, when we recognize our interest to hold what the discharge of duty has placed in our hand? Since when has it been statesmanship to shut our eyes to the interests of our own country: and patriotism to consider only the interests or the wishes of others? For my own part I confess to a belief in

standing up first for my own — and find it difficult to cherish much respect for the man who won't: — first for my own family rather than some other man's; first for my own city and State rather than for somebody else's; first for my own country; first, please God! for the United States of America. And so, having in the past, too fully perhaps, and on more than one occasion, considered the question of our new possessions in the light of our duty, I propose now to look at them further, and unblushingly, in the light of our interests.

**The Old Faith of Californians.**

Which way do your interests lie? Which way do the interests of California and the City of San Francisco lie?

Three or four days ago, when your President honored me with the summons I am now obeying, there came back to me a vague memory of the visions cherished by the men you rate the highest in California, your "Pioneers" and "Forty-Niners," as to the future of the empire they were founding on this coast. There lingered in my mind the flavor at least of an old response by a California public man to the compliment a "tenderfoot" New Yorker, in the innocence of his heart, had intended to pay, when he said that with this splendid State, this glorious harbor, and the Pacific Ocean, you have all the elements to build up here the New York of the West. The substance of the Californian's reply was that, through mere lack of knowledge of the country to which he belonged, the well-meaning New Yorker had greatly underrated the future that awaited San Francisco: — that long before Macaulay's New-Zealander had transferred himself from the broken arches of London Bridge to those of Brooklyn, it would be the pride and boast of the denizens of those parts that New York had developed so finely as to be fairly called the San Francisco of the East!

While the human memory is the most tenacious and nearest immortal of all things known to us, it is also at times the most elusive. Even with the suggestion of Mr. Hittell and the friendly files of the Mechanic's Library, I did not succeed in finding that splendid example of San Francisco faith which my memory had treasured. Yet I found some things not very unlike it, to show what manner of men they were that laid the foundations of this commonwealth on the Pacific, what high hopes sustained them, and what radiant future they confidently anticipated.

Here, for example, was Mr. William A. Howard, whom I found declaring not quite a third of a century ago that San

Francisco would yet be the largest American city on the largest ocean in the world. At least so he is reported in "The Bulletin," though "The Alta" puts it with an "if,"—its report reading: "If the development of commerce require that the largest ocean shall have the largest city, then it would follow that as the Atlantic is smaller than the Pacific, so in the course of years New York will be smaller than San Francisco."

And here again was Mr. Delos Lake, maintaining that the "United States is now on a level with the most favored nations; that its geographical position, its line of palatial steamers established on the Pacific Ocean by American enterprise, and soon to be followed by ocean telegraphs, must before long render this continent the proper avenue of commerce between Europe and Asia, and raise this metropolis of the Pacific to the loftiest height of monetary power."

There was a reason, too, widely held by the great men of the day, whose names have passed into history, for some such faith. Thus an old Californian of high and happy fame, Major General Henry W. Halleck, speaking of San Francisco, said: "Standing here on the extreme Western verge of the Republic, overlooking the coast of Asia and occupying the future center of trade and commerce of the two worlds . . . if that civilization which so long has moved Westward with the Star of Empire is now, purified by the principles of true Christianity, to go on around the world until it reaches the place of its origin and makes the Orient blossom again with its benign influences, San Francisco must be made the abutment, and international law the bridge by which it will cross the Pacific Ocean. The enterprise of the merchants of California has already laid the foundation of the abutments; diplomacy and steam and telegraph companies are rapidly accumulating material for the construction of the bridge." Thus far Halleck. But have the Californians of this generation abandoned the bridge? Are we to believe those men of to-day who tell us it is not worth crossing?

Here, again, was Eugene Casserly, speaking of right for the California Democracy of that date. Writing with deliberation more than a quarter of a century ago, he said: "We expect to stand on equal grounds with the most favored of nations. We ask no more in the contest for that Eastern trade which has always heretofore been thought to carry with it the commercial supremacy of the globe. America asks only a fair field, even as against her oldest and most formidable rivals. Nature and our

position as the nearest neighbors to Eastern Asia, separated from her only by the great highways of the ocean, have placed in our hands all the advantages that we need. . . . Favored by vicinity, by soil and climate on our own territory, with a people inferior to none in enterprise and vigor, without any serious rivals anywhere, all this Pacific Coast is ours or is our tributary. . . . We hold as ours the great ocean that so lately rolled in solitary grandeur from the equator to the pole. In the changes certain to be affected in the currents of finance, of exchange, and of trade, by the telegraph and the railroads, bringing the financial centers of Europe and of the United States by way of San Francisco within a few weeks of the ports of China and of the East, San Francisco must become at no distant day the banker, the factor and the carrier of the trade of Eastern Asia and the Pacific, to an extent to which it is difficult to assign limits." Are the people now lacking in the enterprise and vigor which Mr. Casserly claimed for them? Have the limits he scorned been since assigned, and do the Californians of to-day assent to the restriction?

Take yet another name, treasured, I know, on the roll of California's most worthy servants, another Democrat. Governor Haight, only a third of a century ago, said: "I see in the near future a vast commerce springing up between the Chinese Empire and the nations of the West; an interchange of products and manufactures mutually beneficial; the watchword of progress, and the precepts of a pure religion uttered to the ears of a third of the human race." And addressing some representatives of that vast region, he added, with a burst of fine confidence, in the supremacy of San Francisco's position: "As Chief Magistrate of this Western State of the Nation I welcome you to the territory of the Republic . . . in no selfish or narrow spirit, either of personal advantage or seeking exclusive privileges for our own over other nations; and so, in the name of commerce, of civilization, of progress, of humanity, and of religion, on behalf not merely of California or America, but of Europe and of mankind, I bid you and your associates welcome and godspeed."

Perhaps this may be thought merely an exuberant hospitality. Let me quote, then, from the same man, speaking again as the Governor of the State, at the Capitol of the State, in the most careful oration of his life: "What shall be said of the future of California? Lift your eyes and expand your conceptions to take in the magnitude of her destiny. An empire in area, presenting advantages and attractions to the people of the Eastern

States and Europe far beyond those presented by any other State or Territory, who shall set limits to her progress, or paint, in fitting colors, the splendor of her future? . . . Mismanagement may at times retard her progress, but if the people of California are true to themselves this State is destined to a high position, not only among her sister States, but among the commonwealths of the world . . . when her ships visit every shore, and her merchant princes control the commerce of the great ocean and the populous countries upon its borders."

Was Governor Haight alone, or was he in advance of his time? Go yet farther back to the day when Judge Nathaniel Bennett was assigned by the people of San Francisco to the task of delivering the oration when they celebrated the admission of California into the Union, on October 29, 1850: "Judging from the past, what have we not a right to expect in the future? The world has never witnessed anything equal or similar to our career hitherto. . . . Our State is a marvel to ourselves, and a miracle to the rest of the world. Nor is the influence of California confined within her own borders. . . . The islands nestled in the embrace of the Pacific have felt the quickening breath of her enterprise. . . . She has caused the hum of busy life to be heard in the wilderness where rolls the Oregon, and where until recently was heard no sound save his own dashings. Even the wall of Chinese exclusiveness has been broken down, and the children of the Sun have come forth to view the splendors of her achievements. . . . It is all but a foretaste of the future. . . . The world's trade is destined soon to be changed. . . . The commerce of Asia and the Islands of the Pacific, instead of pursuing the ocean track by the way of Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, and even taking the shorter route of the Isthmus of Darien or the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, will enter the Golden Gate of California and deposit its riches in the lap of our city. . . . New York will then become what London now is — the great central point of exchange — the heart of trade — the force of whose contraction and expansion will be felt throughout every artery of the commercial world; and San Francisco will then stand the second city of America. . . . The responsibility rests upon us whether this first American State of the Pacific shall in youth and ripe manhood realize the promise of infancy. We may cramp her energies and distort her form, or we may make her a rival even of the Empire State of the Atlantic. The best wishes of Americans are with us. They expect that the Herculean youth will grow to a Titan in his manhood."

Nor was even Judge Bennett the pioneer of such ideas. Long before he spoke or before the Stars and Stripes had been raised over Yerba Buena, as far back as in 1835, the English people and the British Government had been advised by Alexander Forbes that: "The situation of California for intercourse with other countries and its capacity for commerce—should it ever be possessed by a numerous and industrious population — is most favorable. The port of San Francisco for size and safety is hardly surpassed by any in the world; it is so situated as to be made the center of the commercial relations which may take place between Asia and the Western coast of America. . . . The vessels of the Spanish Philippines Company on their passage from Manila to San Blas and Acapulco generally called at Monterey for refreshments and orders. . . . Thus it appears as if California was designed by nature to be the medium of connecting commercially Asia with America, and as the depot of the trade between these two vast continents, which possess the elements of unbounded commercial interchange; the one overflowing with all the rich and luxurious commodities, always characteristic of the East, the other possessing a superabundance of the precious metals and other valuable products to give in exchange. . . . If ever a route across the Isthmus shall be opened, California will then be one of the most interesting commercial situations in the world; it would in that case be the rendezvous for all vessels engaged in the trade between Europe and Asia by that route. It is nearly mid-voyage between these two countries and would furnish provisions and all naval supplies in the most ample abundance; and most probably would become a mart for the interchange of the commodities of the three continents."

**Has the State Lost Heart and Shrivelled?**

Let no man fancy that these sometimes exuberant expressions of a noble and far-seeing faith by your own predecessors and by a prescient foreigner have been revived in derision or even in doubt. Those were the days when, if some were for a party, at any rate all were for the State. These were great men, far-seeing, courageous, patriotic, the men of Forty-Nine, who in such lofty spirit and with such high hope laid the foundation of this empire on the Pacific. Distance did not disturb them, nor difficulties discourage. There sits on your platform to-day a man who started from New York to California by what he thought the quickest route in December, 1848, went South from the Isthmus as the only means of catching a ship for the North, and finally entered this harbor, by the way of Chili, in June,

1849. He could go now to Manila thrice over and back in less time. And yet there are Californians of this day who profess to shrink in alarm from the remoteness and inaccessibility of our new possessions! Has the race shrivelled under these summer skies? Has it grown old before its time; is its natural strength abated? Are the old energy and the old courage gone? Has the soul of this people shrunk within them? Or is it only that there are strident voices from California, sounding across the Sierras and the Rockies, that misrepresent and shame a State whose sons are not unworthy of their fathers?

The arm of the Californian has not been shortened, that he cannot reach out. The salt has not left him, that he cannot occupy and possess the great ocean that the Lord has given him, nor has he forgotten the lesson taught by the history of his own race (and of the greatest nations of the world), that oceans no longer separate — they unite. There are no protracted and painful struggles to build a Pacific railroad for your next great step. The right of way is assured, the grading is done, the rails are laid. You have but to buy your rolling stock at the Union Iron Works, draw up your time table and begin business. Or do you think it better that your Pacific railroad should end in the air? Is a six thousand mile extension to a through line worthless? Or is it that your Scott shipyards can only turn out men-of-war? Can your Senator Perkins only run ships that creep along the coast; is the broad ocean too deep for him or too wide?

**Power of Water.**

Contiguous land gives a nation cohesion; but it is the water that brings other nations near. The continent divides you from customers beyond the mountains; but the ocean unites you with the whole boundless, mysterious Orient. There you find a population of over six hundred millions of souls, between one fourth and one third of the inhabitants of the globe. You are not at a disadvantage in trading with them because they have the start of you in manufactures or skill or capital, as you would be in the countries to which the Atlantic leads. They offer you the best of all commerce, that with people less advanced, exchanging the products of different zones, a people awakening to the complex wants of a civilization that is just stirring them to a new life.

**New Fields.**

Have you considered what urgent need there will be for those new fields? It is no paltry question of an outlet for the surplus products of a mere nation of seventy-five millions that confronts you. Your mathematical professors will tell you that

at the ratio of increase established in this Nation by the census returns for the century just closing, its population would amount during the next century to the bewildering and incomprehensible figure of twelve hundred millions. The ratio, of course, will not be maintained, since the exceptional circumstances that caused it cannot continue. But no one gives reasons why it should not be half as great. Suppose it to turn out only one fourth as great. Is it the part of statesmanship — is it even the part of every-day matter-of-fact common sense to reject or despise these Oriental openings for the products of this nation of three hundred million people the Twentieth Century would need to nourish within our borders? Our total annual trade with China now—with this people whom the friendly ocean is ready to bring to your very doors—is barely twenty millions. That would be a commerce of the gross amount of six and two-third cents for each inhabitant of our country in the next century, with that whole vast region adjoining you, wherein dwell one fourth of the human race! Even the Spanish trade with the Philippines was thirty millions. They are merely our stepping-stone. But would a wise man kick the stepping-stone away?

**The New Blood Felt.**

San Francisco is exceptionally prosperous now. So is the State of California. Why? Partly, no doubt, because you are sharing the prosperity which blesses the whole country. But is that all? What is this increase in the shipping at your wharves? What was the meaning of those crowded columns of business statistics your newspapers proudly printed last New Year's; what the significance of the increase in exports and imports, far beyond mere army requirements? Why is every room taken in your big buildings? What has crowded your docks, filled your streets, quickened your markets, rented your stores and dwellings, sent all this new blood pulsing through your veins—made you like the worn Richelieu when, in that moment, there entered his spent veins the might of France?

Was it the rage you have witnessed among some of your own leaders against everything that has been done the past two years; — the warning against everything that is about to be done? Was it the proof of our unworthiness and misdeeds, to which we all penitentially listened, as so eloquently set forth from the high places of light and leading; — the demonstration that what we needed was to sit under the live oaks and "develop the individual man," nor dare to look beyond; the forgetfulness that muscles grow strong only with exercise; that it is

the duties of manhood that take the acrid humors out of a youth's blood; that it is great responsibility, manfully met, not cowardly evaded, that sobers and steadies and ennobles? Was it the long lamentation over how on almost every field we had shown our incapacity; how unfit we were to govern cities, unfit to govern territories, unfit to govern Indians, unfit to govern ourselves; — how in good old theological phrase we were from head to foot a mass of National wounds and bruises and putrefying sores, and there was no health in us?

**Cannot Escape History.**

Some one has lately been quoting Lincoln's phrase, "We cannot escape history." It is a noble and inspiring thought. Most of us dare not look for a separate appearance at that greatest of human bars; may hope only to be reckoned in bulk with the multitude. But even so, however it may be with others on this coast, I, for one, want to be counted with those who had faith in my countrymen; who did not think them incapable of tasks to which other nations had been equal; who did not disparage their powers or distrust their honest intentions or urge them to refuse their opportunities; to be counted with those who at least had open eyes, when they stood in the Golden Gate!

**Wards or Full Partners?**

I do not doubt — you do not doubt they are the majority. They will prevail. What Duty requires us to take, an enlightened regard for our own interests will require us to hold. The Islands will not be thrown away. The American people have made up their minds on that point if on nothing else.

Well, then, how shall the Islands be treated? Are they to be our wards, objects of our duty and our care; or are they to be our full partners? We may as well look that question straight in the face. There is no way around it, or over or under or out of it; and no way of aimlessly and helplessly shuffling it off on the future, for it presses in the legislation of Congress to-day. Wards, flung on our hands by the shipwreck of Spain, helpless, needy, to be cared for and brought up and taught to stand alone as far as they can; or full partners with us in the government and administration of the priceless heritage of our fathers, the peerless Republic of the world and of all the centuries? — that is the question!

**An Ounce of Fact.**

Men often say — I have even heard it within a week on this coast — that all this is purely imaginary; — that nobody favors their admission as States. Let us see. An ounce of fact in a matter of such moment is worth tons of random denial.

Within the month a distinguished and experienced United States Senator from the North has announced that he sees no reason why Porto Rico should not be a State. Within the same period one of the leading religious journals of the continent has declared that it would be a selfish and brutal tyranny that would exclude Porto Rico from Statehood. Only a few weeks earlier one of our ablest generals, now commanding a department in one of our dependencies, a laureled hero of two wars, has officially reported to the Government in favor of steps for the admission of Cuba as a State. On every hand rise cries that in any event they cannot and must not be dependencies. Some of these are apparently for mere partizan effect, but others are the obvious promptings of a sincere and high-minded, however mistaken, impulse.

I shall venture, then, to consider it as a real and not an abstract question — "academic," I think it is the fad of these later days to say — and I propose again (and again unblushingly) to consider it from what has been called a low and sordid point of view; so low, in fact, so unworthy the respect of latter-day altruistic philosophers, that it merely concerns the interests of my country!

For I take it that if there is one subject on which this Union has a right to consult its own interests and inclinations, it is on the question of admitting new States, or of putting territory in a position where it can ever claim or expect admission; just as the one subject on which nobody disputes the right of a mercantile firm to follow its own inclinations is on that of taking in some unfortunate business man as a partner; or the right of an individual to follow his own inclinations about marrying some needy spinster he may have felt it a duty to befriend. Because they are helpless and needy and on our hands must we take them into partnership? Because we are going to help them are we bound to marry them?

**The Porto Rican Question.**

Partly through mere inadvertence, but partly also through crafty design, the wave of generous sympathy for the suffering little island of Porto Rico which has been sweeping over the country has come very near being perverted into the means of turning awry the general policy and permanent course of a great Nation. To relieve the temporary distress by recognizing the Porto Ricans as citizens and by an extension of the Dingley tariff to Porto Rico as a matter of constitutional right, foreclosed the whole question.

I know it is said, plausibly enough, in some quarters, that Congress cannot foreclose the question — has nothing to do with it, in fact — but that it is a matter to be settled only by the Supreme Law of the land, of which Congress is merely the servant. The point need not be disputed. But it is an unquestioned part of the Supreme Law of the land, as absolute and as binding as any clause in the Constitution itself, which declares, in the duly ratified Treaty of Paris, that the whole question of the civil rights and political status of the inhabitants in this newly acquired property of ours shall be reserved for the decision of Congress! Let those who invoke the Supreme Law of the land learn and bow to it.

As to the mere duty of prompt and ample relief for the distress in Porto Rico, there is happily not a shade of difference of opinion among the seventy-five millions of our inhabitants. Nor was the free trade remedy, so vehemently recommended, important enough in itself to provoke serious objection or delay. Cynical observers might find indeed a gentle amusement in noting how in the name of humanity the blessings of free trade were invoked by means of the demand for an immediate application of the highest protective tariff known to the history of Economics! The very men who denounce it as a Chinese wall are the men who demand its application. They say "Give Porto Rico free trade," but what their proposal means is "Deprive Porto Rico of free trade, and put her within the barbarous Chinese wall." Their words sound like offering her the liberty of trade with all the world, but mean forbidding her to trade with anybody except the United States.

**Importance of the Question.**

The importance of the question from an economic point of view has been ludicrously exaggerated on both sides. The original proposal would have in itself done far less harm than its opponents imagined and far less good than its supporters hoped. Yet to the extent of its influence it would have been a step backwards. It would have been the rejection of the modern and scientific colonial method; and the adoption instead of the method which has resulted in the most backward, the least productive and the least prosperous colonies in the world,— the method, in a word, of Spain herself. For the Spanish tariff, in fact, made with some little reference to colonial interests, we should merely have substituted our own tariff, made with sole reference to our own interests. A more distinct piece of blacksmith work in economic legislation for a helpless, lonely little

island in the mid-Atlantic could not well be imagined. What had poor Porto Rico done, that she should be fenced in from all the old world by an elaborate and highly complicated system of duties upon imports, calculated to protect the myriad varying manufactures and maintain the high wages of this vast new continent, and as little adapted to Porto Rico's simple needs as is a Jurgensen repeater for the uses of a kitchen clock? Why at the same stroke must she be crushed, as she would have been if the Constitution were extended to her, by a system of internal taxation, which we ourselves prefer to regard as highly exceptional, on tobacco, on tobacco dealers, on bank checks, on telegraph and telephone messages, on bills of lading, bills of exchange, leases, mortgages, life insurance, passenger tickets, medicines, legacies, inheritances, mixed flour, and so on, and so on, ad infinitum, ad nauseam? Did she deserve so badly of us, that, even in a hurry, we should do this thing to her in the name of Humanity?

**Simplicity Itself.**

All the English speaking world, outside some members of the United States Congress perhaps, long since found a more excellent way. It is simplicity itself. It legislates for a community like Porto Rico, with reference to the situation and wants of that community — not with reference to somebody else. It applies to Porto Rico a system devised for Porto Rico — not one devised for a distant and vastly larger country, with totally different situation and wants. It makes no effort to exploit Porto Rico for the benefit of another country. It does make a studied and scientific effort from the Porto Rico point of view (not from that of temporary Spanish holders of the present stocks of Porto Rican products) to see what system will impose the lightest burdens and bring the greatest benefits on Porto Rico herself. The result of that conscientious inquiry may be the discovery that the very best thing to provide for the wants and promote the prosperity of that little community out in the Atlantic Ocean is to bestow upon them the unmixed boon of the high protective Dingley Tariff, devised for the United States of America. If so, give them the Dingley Tariff, and give it straight. If, on the other hand, it should be found that a lower and simpler revenue system, better adapted to a community which has practically no manufactures to protect, with freedom to trade on equal terms with all the world, would impose upon them lighter burdens and bring them greater benefits, then give them that. If it should be further found that, following this,

such a system of reciprocal rebates as both Cuba and the United States, thought mutually advantageous in the late years of Spanish rule, would be useful to Porto Rico, then give them that. But in any case, the starting point should be the needs of Porto Rico herself, intelligently studied and conscientiously met, — not the blacksmith's offhand attempt to fit on her head, like a rusty iron pot, an old system made for other needs, other industries, a distant land and another people.

And beyond and above all, give her the best system for her situation and wants, whether it be our Dingley Tariff or some other, because it is the best for her and is therefore our duty; not because it is ours and therefore under the Constitution of the United States her right. The admission of that ill-omened and unfounded claim would be, at the bar of politics, a colossal blunder; at the bar of patriotism, a colossal crime.

The politics of it need not greatly concern this audience or long detain you.

**Political Aspect of the Constitutional Claim.**

But the facts are interesting. If Porto Rico, instead of belonging to us, is a part of us, so are the Philippines. Our title to each is exactly the same. So are Guam and Samoa and the Sandwich Islands; and so will be Cuba if she comes, or any other West India Island.

First, then, you are proposing to open the ports of the United States directly to the tropical products of the two greatest archipelagoes of the world; and indirectly, through the open door we have pledged in the Philippines, to all the products of all the world! You guarantee directly to the cheap labor of these tropical regions, and indirectly but none the less bindingly to the cheap labor of the world, free admission of its products to this continent, in unrestricted competition with our own higher paid labor. And as your whole tariff system is thus plucked up by the roots, you must resort to direct taxation for the expenses of the General Government.

Secondly, as if this were not enough, you have made these tropical laborers citizens — Chinese, halfbreeds, pagans and all — and have given them the unquestionable and inalienable right to follow their products across the ocean if they like, flood our labor market, and compete in person on our own soil with our own workmen.

Is that the feast they wish to set before the laboring men of this country? Is that the real inwardness of the Trojan horse pushed forward against our Tariff wall, in the name of human-

ity to suffering Porto Rico? What a programme for the wise humanitarians who have been bewitching the world with noble statesmanship at Washington to propose laying before the Organized Labor of this country as their chosen platform for the approaching Presidential campaign! They need have no fear the intelligent workingmen of America will fail to appreciate the sweet boon they offer.

**The Patriotic Aspect of it.**

But if the question thus raised at the bar of politics may seem to some only food for laughter, that at the bar of patriotism is matter for tears. If the islanders are already citizens, then they are entitled to the future of citizens. If the territory is already an integral part of the United States, then by all our practice and traditions it has the right to admission in States of suitable size and population. Is it said we could keep them out as we have kept out sparsely settled New Mexico? How long do you expect to keep even New Mexico out, or Oklahoma, or Arizona? What luck did you have in keeping out others — even Utah — with its bar sinister of the twin relic of barbarism? How long would it take your politicians of the baser sort to combine for the admission of the islands whose electoral votes they had reason to think they could control?

But it is said that Porto Rico deserves admission anyway, because we are bound by the volunteered assurance of General Miles that they should have the rights of American citizens. Perhaps; though there is no evidence that he meant more, or that they thought he meant more, than such rights as American citizens everywhere enjoy, even in the District of Columbia,—equal laws, trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus, local self-government—in a word, the civil rights which the genius of our Government secures to all under our control who are capable of exercising them. If he did mean more, or if they thought he meant more, did that entitle him to anticipate his chief and override in casual military proclamation the supreme law of the land, whose commission he bore? Or did it entitle them to suppose that he could?

But Porto Rico received the irresistible army of General Miles so handsomely, and is so unfortunate and so little! Reasons all for consideration, certainly; for care, for generosity: — but not for starting the avalanche, on the theory that after it has got under only a little headway we can still stop it if we want to. Who thinks he can lay his hand on the rugged edge of the Muir Glacier and compel it to advance no further?

Who believes that we can admit this little half-Spanish, half-negro waif from the mid-Atlantic, a third of the way over to Africa, and then reject nearer and more valuable islands when they come? Behind Porto Rico is Cuba, and behind Cuba are all the other West Indies; and the famous law of political gravitation which John Quincy Adams prophetically announced three quarters of a century ago will then be acting on them with ever increasing force. And behind them — no, ahead of them — abreast of Puerto Rico itself, stand the Philippines!

**Calm White Light.**

Regard, I beg of you, in the calm white light that befits these cloistered retreats of sober thought, the degradation of the Republic thus coolly contemplated by the men who assure us we have no possessions whose people are not entitled under our Constitution to citizenship and ultimately to Statehood! The Republican institutions we have been trained in constitute a system only likely to endure among a people of high virtue and high intelligence. Such are its complications and checks and balances and interdependencies, which tax the intelligence, the patience, the virtue of the highest Caucasian development, that it is obviously a system absolutely unworkable by a group of tropical and Oriental races, more or less hostile to each other, whose highest type is a Chinese and Malay half-breed, and among whom millions, a majority possibly, are far below the level of the pure Malay.

**Schoolboys Taught.**

Before the advent of the United States, the history of the world's efforts at Republicanism was a monotonous record of failure. Your very schoolboys are taught the reason. It was because the average of intelligence and morality was too low; because they lacked the self-restrained, self-governing quality, developed in the Anglo-Saxon bone and fibre through all the centuries since Runnymede; because they grew unwieldy and lost cohesion by reason of unrelated territory, alien races and languages, and inevitable territorial and climatic conflicts of interest.

We all remember Mr. Lincoln's words, "This Government cannot permanently endure half-slave, half-free." Who disputes it now? Well, then, can it endure half-civilized and enlightened, half-barbarous and pagan; half-white, half-black, brown, yellow and mixed; half-Northern and Western, half-tropical and Oriental; one half a homogeneous continent, the other half in myriads of islands, scattered half way around the globe, but all

eager to participate in ruling this continent, which our fathers with fire and sword redeemed from just such barbarism and subdued to the uses of the highest civilization.

Surely to an audience of scholars and patriots like this, not one word need be added as a summons to the high resolve that you will neither shame the Republic by shirking the duty its own victory entails, nor despoil the Republic by abandoning its rightful possessions, nor degrade the Republic by admission of unfit elements to its Union; but that you will honor it, enrich it, ennoble it, by doing your utmost to make the administration of these possessions worthy of the Nation that Washington founded and Lincoln preserved.

May I not go further and vouch for you, as Californians, that the faith of the fathers has not forsaken the sons; — that you still believe in the possibilities of the good land the Lord has given you and mean to work them out; — that you know what hour the National clock has struck and are not mistaking this for the Eighteenth Century; that you will bid the men who have made that mistake — the men of little faith, the shirkers the doubters, the carpers, the grumblers begone, like Diogenes, to their tubs — aye, better his instruction and require these, his followers, to get out of your light. For, lo! yet another century is upon you, before which even the marvels of the Nineteenth are to grow pale. As of old, light breaks from the East, but now also, for you, from the Farther East. It circles the world in both directions, like the flag it is newly gilding now with its tropic beams. The dawn of the Twentieth Century bursts upon you without needing to cross the Sierras, and bathes at once in its golden splendors, with simultaneous effulgence, the Narrows of Sandy Hook and the Peerless portals of the Golden Gate.

Calm Wt
Light.

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# OUR NEW DUTIES

A COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AT THE
SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF MIAMI UNIVERSITY
THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1899

Timothy Hopewell

# OUR NEW DUTIES

A COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AT THE
SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF MIAMI UNIVERSITY
THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1899

BY
WHITELAW REID

NEW YORK
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1899

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MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

Hon. JOHN W. HERRON, LL. D., Cincinnati, Ohio,
*President of the Board of Trustees.*

Miss ANNA J. BISHOP, Oxford, Ohio,
*Secretary of the Board of Trustees.*

Rev. W. O. THOMPSON, D. D.,
*President of the University.*

OXFORD, OHIO, June 27, 1896.

Hon. WHITELAW REID, LL. D,
New York.

*Dear Sir:*

At the request of Dr. Thompson, the President (who is writing you on the subject), I enclose you a copy of a resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees of Miami University, at a meeting held June 17, 1896.

Hoping it may be possible for you to be present, as requested, at our Seventy-fifth Anniversary, I am

Very truly yours,
ANNA J. BISHOP,
*Secretary of the Board.*

*Excerpt from Minutes of Meeting of Board of Trustees of Miami University, held June* 17, 1896.

Mr. Hunt offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

"Whereas the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the founding of Miami University will mark an important event in the history of the educational work—not only in the Miami Valley, but in the Western Country; and

"Whereas, this Board contemplates the commemoration of that occasion by appropriate exercises in every way worthy of the fame of the institution:

"Therefore, Be it Resolved: That the Board of Trustees of Miami University, in recognition of the importance of that anniversary and the fitting ability of the Honorable Whitelaw Reid, of the class of 1856, and the interest which he has always manifested in his Alma Mater, does hereby tender to him, in behalf of all the friends of Miami University, a cordial invitation to be present and participate in the exercises by delivering the address at that time."

OPHIR FARM,
PURCHASE, N. Y.,

July 10, 1896.

Miss ANNA J. BISHOP,
*Secretary Board of Trustees,*
MIAMI UNIVERSITY, Oxford, O.

*Dear Madam:*

I beg to acknowledge your courteous transmission of a resolution by the Board of Trustees of Miami University, inviting me to deliver an address on its Seventy-fifth Anniversary.

I am very sensible of the great honor done me by the Trustees of my Alma Mater in this invitation. The time is still remote, and one cannot always be sure of his ability to fill engagements made so far in advance; but it would give me the greatest pleasure to undertake the work, and I shall endeavor so to shape my affairs as to prevent anything from interfering with it.

With renewed thanks, I am, dear madam,

Very truly yours,
WHITELAW REID.

# ADDRESS

*Sons and Friends of Miami:*

I join you in saluting this venerable mother at a notable waymark in her great life. One hundred and seven years ago the Congress voted and George Washington approved a foundation for this university. Seventy-five years ago it opened its doors. Now si monumentum quæris, circumspice. There is the catalogue. There are the long lists of men who so served the State or the Church that their lives are your glory, their names your inspiration. There are the longer lists of others to whom kinder fortune did not set duties in the eye of the world. But Miami made of them citizens who leavened the lump of that growing West, which was then a sprawling, irregular line of pioneer settlements and is now an empire. Search through it, above and below the Ohio, and beyond the Mississippi. So often — where there are centres of good work, or right thinking and right liv ing — so often and so widely spread will you find traces of Miami, left by her own sons or coming from those secondary centres that grew out of her example and influence, that you are led in grateful surprise to exclaim: If this be the work of a little college, God bless and prolong the little college! If, half-starved and generally neglected, she has thus nourished good learning and its proper result in good lives through the three-quarters of a century ended to-day, may the days of her years be as the sands of the sea; may the Twentieth Century only introduce the glorious prime of a career of which the Nineteenth saw but modest beginnings, and may good old Miami still flourish in sæcula sæculorum!

But the celebration of her past and the aspirations for her future belong to worthier sons — here among these gentlemen of the Board who have cared for her in her need. I make them my profound acknowledgments for the honor they have done me in assigning me a share in the work of this day of days; and shall best deserve their trust by going with absolute candor straight to my theme.

**New Duties; a New World**

I shall speak of the new duties that are upon us and the new world that is opening to us with the new century — of the spirit in which we should advance and the results we have the right to ask. I shall speak of public matters which it is the duty of educated men to consider; and of matters which may hereafter divide parties, but on which we must refuse now to recognize party distinctions. Partisanship stops at the guard line. "In the face of an enemy we are all Frenchmen," said an eloquent imperialist once in my hearing, in rallying his followers to support a foreign measure of the French Republic. At this moment our soldiers are facing a barbarous or semi-civilized foe, which treacherously attacked them in a distant land, where our flag had been sent, in friendship with them, for the defence of our own shores. Was it creditable or seemly that it was lately left to a Bonaparte on our own soil to teach some American leaders that, at such a time, loyal men at home do not discourage those soldiers or weaken the Government that directs them? *

Neither shall I discuss, here and now, the wisdom of all the steps that have led to the present situation. For good or ill the war was fought. Its results are upon us. With the ratification of the Peace of Paris, our Continental Republic has stretched its wings over the West Indies and the East. It is a fact and not a theory that confronts us. We are actually and now responsible, not merely to the inhabitants and to our own people, but in international law, to the commerce, the travel, the civilization of the world, for the preservation of order and the protection of life and property, in Cuba, in Porto Rico, in Guam and in the Philippine Archipelago, including that recent haunt of piracy, the Sulus. Shall we quit ourselves like men in the

* My Dear Sir — I have received your letter of the 23d inst. notifying to me my election as a Vice-President of the Anti-Imperialist League. I recognize the compliment implied in this election, and appreciate it the more by reason of my respect for the gentlemen identified with the league, but I do not think I can appropriately or consistently accept the position, especially since I learn through the press that the league adopted at its recent meeting certain resolutions to which I cannot assent. . . . I may add that, while I fully recognize the injustice and even absurdity of those charges of "disloyalty" which have been of late freely made against some members of the league, and also that many honorable and patriotic men do not feel as I do on this subject, I am personally unwilling to take part in an agitation which may have some tendency to cause a public enemy to persist in armed resistance, or may be, at least, plausibly represented as having this tendency. There can be no doubt that, as a matter of fact, the country is at war with Aguinaldo and his followers. I profoundly regret this fact. . . . But it is a fact, nevertheless, and, as such, must weigh in determining my conduct as a citizen. . . .

CHARLES JEROME BONAPARTE.

Baltimore, May 25, 1899.

discharge of this immediate duty; or shall we fall to quarrelling with each other like boys as to whether such a duty is a good or a bad thing for the country, and as to who got it fastened upon us? There may have been a time for disputes about the wisdom of resisting the stamp tax, but it was not just after Bunker Hill. There may have been a time for hot debate about some mistakes in the Anti-Slavery contest, but not just after Sumter and Bull Run. Furthermore, it is as well to remember that you can never grind with the water that has passed the mill. Nothing in human power can ever restore the United States to the position it occupied the day before Congress plunged us into the war with Spain; or enable us to escape what that war entailed. No matter what we wish, the old Continental isolation is gone forever. Whithersoever we turn now, we must do it with the burden of our late acts to carry; the responsibility of our new position to assume.

When the sovereignty which Spain had exercised with the assent of all nations over vast and distant regions for three hundred years was solemnly transferred under the eye of the civilized world to the United States, our first responsibility became the restoration of order. Till that is secured, any hindrance to the effort is bad citizenship — as bad as resistance to the police; — as much worse, in fact, as its consequences may be more bloody and disastrous. "You have a wolf by the ears," said an accomplished ex-Minister of the United States to a departing Peace Commissioner last autumn. "You cannot let go of him with either dignity or safety, and he will not be easy to tame."

**Policy for the New Possessions**

But when the task is accomplished — when the Stars and Stripes at last bring the order and peaceful security they typify, instead of wanton disorder, with all the concomitants of savage warfare over which they now wave — we shall then be confronted with the necessity of a policy for the future of these distant regions. It is a problem that calls for our soberest, most dispassionate and most patriotic thought. The colleges and the educated classes generally should make it a matter of conscience — painstakingly considered on all its sides, with reference to international law, the burdens of sovereignty, the rights and interests of native tribes, and the legitimate demands of civilization — to find first our National duty, and then our National interest, which it is also a duty for our statesmen to protect. On such a subject we have a right to look to our colleges for the help they should be so well equipped to give.

From these still regions of cloistered thought may well come the white light of pure reason — not the wild, whirling words of the special pleader, or of the partisan, giving loose rein to his hasty first impressions. It would be an ill day for the colleges if crude and hot-tempered incursions into current public affairs, like a few unhappily witnessed of late, should lead even their friends to fear that they have been so long accustomed to dogmatize to boys that they have lost the faculty of reasoning with men.

When the first duty is done, when order is restored in those commercial centres and on that commercial highway, somebody must then be responsible for maintaining it — either ourselves or some Power whom we persuade to take them off our hands. Does anybody doubt what the American people in their present temper would say to the latter alternative? — the same people who, a fortnight ago, were ready to break off their Joint Commission with Great Britain and take the chances, rather than give up a few square miles of worthless land, and a harbor of which a year ago they scarcely knew the name on the remote coast of Alaska. Plainly it is idle now, in a government so purely dependent on the popular will, to scheme or hope for giving the Philippine task over to other hands as soon as order is restored. We must then be prepared with a policy for maintaining it ourselves.

Of late years men have unthinkingly assumed that new territory is, in the very nature of our Government, merely and necessarily the raw material for future States in the Union. Colonies and dependencies it is now said are essentially inconsistent with our system. But if any ever entertained the wild dream that the instrument whose preamble says it is ordained for the United States *of America* could be stretched to the China Sea, the first Tagal guns fired at friendly soldiers of the Union and the first mutilation of American dead that ensued ended the nightmare of States from Asia admitted to the American Union. For that relief, at least, we must thank the uprising of the Tagalogs. It was a Continental Union of independent sovereign States our Fathers planned. Whoever proposes to debase it with admixtures of States made up from the islands of the sea, in any archipelago, East or West, is a bad friend to the Republic. We may guide, protect, elevate them, and even teach them, some day, to stand alone; but if we ever invite them into our Senate and House to help rule us, we are the most imbecile of all the offspring of time.

**The Constitutional Objection**

Yet we must face the fact that able and conscientious men believe the United States has no constitutional power to hold territory that is not to be erected into States in the Union, or to govern people that are not to be made citizens. They are able to cite great names in support of their contention; and it would be an ill-omen for the freest and most successful constitutional government in the world if a constitutional objection thus fortified should be carelessly considered or hastily overridden.

This objection rests mainly on the assumption that the name "United States," as used in the Constitution, necessarily includes all territory the Nation owns, and on the historic fact that a large part of this territory, on acquiring sufficient population, has already been admitted as States, and has generally considered such admission to be a right. Now, Mr. Chief Justice Marshall — than whom no constitutional authority carries greater weight — certainly did declare that the question what was designated by the term "United States" in the clause of the Constitution giving power to levy duties on imposts "admitted of but one answer." It "designated the whole of the American empire, composed of States and Territories." If that be accepted as final, then the tariff must be applied in Manila precisely as in New-York, and goods from Manila must enter the New-York Custom House as freely as goods from New-Orleans. Sixty millions would disappear instantly and annually from the Treasury, and our revenue system would be revolutionized by the free admission of sugar and other tropical products from the United States of Asia and of the Caribbean Sea. On the other hand, the Philippines themselves would be fatally handicapped by a tariff wholly unnatural to their locality and circumstances. More. If that be final, the term "United States" should have the same comprehensive meaning in the clause as to citizenship. Then Aguinaldo is to-day a citizen of the United States, and may yet run for the Presidency. Still more. The Asiatics south of the China Sea are given that free admission to the country which we so strenuously deny to Asiatics from the north side of the same sea. Their goods, produced on wages of a few cents a day, come into free competition in all our home markets with the products of American labor, and the cheap laborers themselves are free to follow if ever our higher wages attract them. More yet. If that be final, the Tagalogs and other tribes of Luzon, the Visayas of Negros and Cebu, and the Mahometan Malays of Mindanao and the Sulus, having each far more than the requisite population, may demand admission next winter

into the Union as free and independent States, with representatives in Senate and House, and may plausibly claim that they can show a better title to admission than Nevada ever did, or Utah or Idaho.

Nor does the great name of Marshall stand alone in support of such conclusions. The converse theory that these territories are not necessarily included in the constitutional term "the United States" makes them our subject dependencies, and at once the figure of Jefferson himself is evoked, with all the signers of the immortal Declaration grouped about him, renewing the old war-cry that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. At different periods in our history eminent statesmen have made protests on grounds of that sort. Even the first bill for Mr. Jefferson's own purchase of Louisiana was denounced by Mr. Macon as "establishing a species of government unknown to the United States"; by Mr. Lucas as "establishing elementary principles never previously introduced in the government of any territory of the United States," and by Mr. Campbell as "really establishing a complete despotism." In 1823 Chancellor Kent said with reference to Columbia River settlements that "a government by Congress as absolute sovereign, over colonies, absolute dependents, was not congenial to the free and independent spirit of American institutions." In 1848 John C. Calhoun declared that "the conquest and retention of Mexico as a province would be a departure from the settled policy of the Government, in conflict with its character and genius and in the end subversive of our free institutions." In 1857 Mr. Chief Justice Taney said that "a power to rule territory without restriction as a colony or dependent province would be inconsistent with the nature of our government." And now, following warily in this line, the eminent and trusted advocate of similar opinions to-day, Mr. Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, says: "The making of new States and providing National defence are constitutional ends, so that we may acquire and hold territory for those purposes. The governing of subject peoples is not a constitutional end, and there is therefore no constitutional warrant for acquiring and holding territory for that purpose."

**An Alleged Constitutional Inability**

We have now, as is believed, presented with entire fairness a summary of the varied aspects in which the constitutional objections mentioned have been urged. I would not underrate by a hair's breadth the authority of these great names, the weight of these continuous reassertions of principle, the sanc-

tion even of the precedent and general practice through a century. And yet I venture to think that no candid and competent man can thoroughly investigate the subject, in the light of the actual provisions of the Constitution, the avowed purpose of its framers, their own practice and the practice of their successors, without being absolutely convinced that this whole fabric of opposition on constitutional grounds is as flimsy as a cobweb. This country of our love and pride is no malformed, congenital cripple of a Nation, incapable of undertaking duties that have been found within the powers of every other Nation that ever existed since governments among civilized men began. Neither by chains forged in the Constitution, nor by chains of precedent; neither by the dead hand we all revere, that of the Father of His Country, nor under the most authoritative exponents of our organic act and of our history, are we so bound that we cannot undertake any duty that devolves, or exercise any power which the emergency demands. Our Constitution has entrapped us in no *impasse*, where retreat is disgrace and advance is impossible. The duty which the hand of Providence rather than any purpose of man has laid upon us is within our constitutional powers. Let me invoke your patience for a rather minute and perhaps wearisome detail of the proof.

Every one recalls this constitutional provision: "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States." That grant is absolute, and the only qualification is the one to be drawn from the general spirit of the Government the Constitution was framed to organize. Is it consistent with that spirit to hold territory permanently, or for long periods of time, without admitting it to the Union? Let the man who wrote the very clause in question answer. That man was Gouverneur Morris, of New York, and you will find his answer on the 192d page of the third volume of his writings, given only fifteen years after, in reply to a direct question as to the exact meaning of the clause: "I always thought, when we should acquire Canada and Louisiana, it would be proper to govern them as provinces and allow them no voice in our councils. In wording the third section of the fourth article, I went as far as circumstances would permit to establish the exclusion." This framer of the Constitution desired then, and intended definitely and permanently, to keep *Louisiana* out! And yet there are men who tell us the provision he drew would not even permit us to keep the Philippines out! To be more Papist than the Pope will cease to be a thing exciting wonder, if everyday

modern men in the consideration of practical and pressing problems are to be more narrowly constitutional than the men that wrote the Constitution!

Is it said that at any rate our practice under this clause of the Constitution has been against the view of the man that wrote it, and in favor of that quoted from Mr. Chief Justice Marshall? Does anybody seriously think, then, that though we have held New-Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma as territories, part of it nearly a century, and all of it half a century, our representatives believed all the while they had no constitutional right to do so? Who imagines that when the third of a century during which we have already held Alaska is rounded out to a full century, that unorganized Territory will even then have any greater prospect than at present of admission as a State, or who believes our grandchildren will be violating the Constitution in keeping it out? Who imagines that under the Constitution ordained on this continent specifically "for the United States *of America*" we will ever permit the Kanakas, Chinese and Japanese, who make up a majority of the population in the Sandwich Islands, to set up a government of their own and claim admission as an independent and sovereign State of the American Union? Finally, let me add that conclusive proof relating not only to practice under the Constitution, but to the precise construction of the constitutional language as to the Territories by the highest authority, in the light of long previous practice, is to be found in another part of the instrument itself, deliberately added, three-quarters of a century later. Article XIII provides that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the United States, *or any place subject to their jurisdiction*." If the term "the United States" as used in the Constitution really includes the Territories as an integral part, as Mr. Chief Justice Marshall said, what, then, does the Constitution mean by the additional words, "or any place subject to their jurisdiction"? Is it not too plain for argument that the Constitution here refers to territory not a part of the United States, but subject to its jurisdiction — territory, for example, like the Sandwich Islands or the Philippines?

What, then, shall we say to the opinion of the great Chief Justice? — for after all his is not a name to be dealt with lightly. Well, first, it was a dictum, not a decision of the court. Next, in another and later case, before the same eminent jurist came a constitutional expounder as eminent, and as generally accepted — none other than Daniel Webster — who took precisely the opposite view. He was discussing the condition of certain

territory on this continent which we had recently acquired. Said Mr. Webster: "What is Florida? It is no part of the United States. How can it be? Florida is to be governed by Congress as it thinks proper. Congress might have done anything, might have refused a trial by jury, and refused a Legislature." Well, after this flat contradiction of the court's former dictum what happened? Simply that Mr. Webster won his case, and that the Chief Justice made not the slightest reference to his own previous and directly conflicting opinion! Need we give it more attention now than Marshall did then?

Mr. Webster maintained the same position long afterward in the Senate of the United States, in opposition to Mr. John C. Calhoun, and his view has been continuously sustained since by the courts and by Congressional action. In the debate with Mr. Calhoun, in February, 1849, Mr. Webster said: "What is the Constitution of the United States? Is not its very first principle that all within its influence and comprehension shall be represented in the Legislature which it establishes, with not only a right of debate and a right to vote in both houses of Congress, but a right to partake in the choice of President and Vice-President? . . . The President of the United States shall govern this territory as he sees fit till Congress makes further provision. . . . We have never had a territory governed as the United States is governed. . . . I do not say that while we sit here to make laws for these territories, we are not bound by every one of those great principles which are intended as general securities for public liberty. But they do not exist in territories till introduced by the authority of Congress. . . . Our history is uniform in its course. It began with the acquisition of Louisiana. It went on after Florida became a part of the Union. In all cases, under all circumstances, by every proceeding of Congress on the subject and by all judicature on the subject, it has been held that territories belonging to the United States were to be governed by a constitution of their own, . . . and in approving that constitution the legislation of Congress was not necessarily confined to those principles that bind it when it is exercised in passing laws for the United States itself."

Mr. Calhoun, in the course of this debate, asked Mr. Webster for judicial opinion sustaining these views, and Mr. Webster said that "the same thing has been decided by the United States courts over and over again for the last thirty years." I may add that it has been so held over and over again during the subsequent fifty. Mr. Chief Justice Waite, giving the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States (in National

Bank agt. Co. of Yankton, 101 U. S., 129–132), said: "It is certainly now too late to doubt the power of Congress to govern the Territories. Congress is supreme, and for all the purposes of this department, has all the powers of the people of the United States, except such as have been expressly or by implication reserved in the prohibitions of the Constitution."

Mr. Justice Stanley Matthews, of the United States Supreme Court, stated the same view with even greater clearness in one of the Utah polygamy cases (Murphy agt. Ramsey, 114 U. S., 44, 45): "It rests with Congress to say whether in a given case any of the people resident in the Territory shall participate in the election of its officers or the making of its laws. It may take from them any right of suffrage it may previously have conferred, or at any time modify or abridge it, as it may deem expedient. . . . Their political rights are franchises which they hold as privileges, in the legislative discretion of the United States."

The very latest judicial utterance on the subject is in harmony with all the rest. Mr. Justice Morrow, of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, in February, 1898, held (57 U. S. Appeals, 6): "The now well-established doctrine [is] that the Territories of the United States are entirely subject to the legislative authority of Congress. They are not organized under the Constitution nor subject to its complex distribution of the powers of government. . . . The United States, having rightfully acquired the Territories, and being the only Government which can impose laws upon them, has the entire dominion and sovereignty, National and municipal, Federal and State."

**More Recent Constitutional Objections**

In the light of such expositions of our constitutional power, and our uniform National practice, it is difficult to deal patiently with the remaining objections to the acquisition of territory, purporting to be based on constitutional grounds. One is that to govern the Philippines without their consent or against the opposition of Aguinaldo is to violate the principle, only formulated to be sure, in the Declaration of Independence, but, as they say, underlying the whole Constitution, that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. In the Sulu group piracy prevailed for centuries. How could a government that put it down rest on the consent of Sulu? Would it be without just powers because the pirates did not vote in its favor? In other parts of the archipelago what has been stigmatized as a species of slavery prevails. Would a government that stopped

that be without just powers till the slaveholders had conferred them at a popular election? In another part, head-hunting is, at certain seasons of the year, a recognized tribal custom. Would a government that interfered with that practice be open to denunciation as an usurpation, without just powers, and flagrantly violating the Constitution of the United States, unless it waited at the polls for the consent of the head-hunters? The truth is, all intelligent men know, and few even in America, except obvious demagogues, hesitate to admit, that there are cases where a good government does not and ought not to rest on the consent of the governed. If men will not govern themselves with respect for civilization and its agencies, then when they get in the way they must be governed — always have been, whenever the world was not retrograding, and always will be. The notion that such government is a revival of slavery, and that the United States by doing its share of such work in behalf of civilization would therefore become infamous, though put forward with apparent gravity, in some eminently respectable quarters, is too fantastic for serious consideration.

Mr. Jefferson may be supposed to have known the meaning of the words he wrote. Instead of vindicating a righteous rebellion in the Declaration, he came, after a time, to exercising a righteous government under the Constitution. Did he himself then carry his own words to such extremes as these professed disciples now demand? Was he guilty of subverting the principles of the Government in buying some hundreds of thousands of Spaniards, Frenchmen, Creoles and Indians, "like sheep in the shambles," as the critics untruthfully say we did in the Philippines? We bought nobody there. We held the Philippines first by the same right by which we held our own original thirteen States — the oldest and firmest of all rights — the right by which nearly every great nation holds the bulk of its territory — the right of conquest. We held them again as a rightful indemnity, and a low one, for a war in which the vanquished could give no other. We bought nothing; and the twenty millions that accompanied the transfer just balanced the Philippine debt. That payment was a recognition of the sound rule of international law, obeyed now in the practice of all civilized nations, that where debts have been incurred by a mother country legitimately for the benefit of a colony, they follow the colony when its sovereignty is transferred. But Jefferson did, if you choose to accept the hypercritical interpretation of these latter-day Jeffersonians — Jefferson did buy the Louisianians — even "like sheep in the shambles," if you care so to describe it;

and did proceed to govern them without the consent of the governed. Monroe bought the Floridians without their consent. Polk conquered the Californians, and Pierce bought the New-Mexicans. Seward bought the Russians and Alaskans, and we have governed them ever since without their consent. Is it easy, in the face of such facts, to preserve your respect for an objection so obviously captious as that based on the phrase from the Declaration of Independence?

Nor is the turn Senator Hoar gives the constitutional objection much more weighty. In that he wishes to take account of motives, and pry into the purpose of those concerned in any acquisition of territory, before the tribunals can decide whether it is constitutional or not. If acquired either for the National defence or to be made a State the act is constitutional; otherwise not. If, then, Jefferson intended to make a State out of Idaho, his act in acquiring that part of the Louisiana Purchase was all right. Otherwise he violated the Constitution he had helped to make and sworn to uphold. And yet, poor man, he hardly knew of the existence of that part of the territory, and certainly never dreamed that it would ever become a State, any more than Daniel Webster dreamed, to quote his own language in the Senate, that "California would ever be worth a dollar." Is Gouverneur Morris to be arraigned as false to the Constitution he helped to frame because he wanted to acquire Louisiana and Canada, and keep them both out of the Union? Did Mr. Seward betray the Constitution and violate his oath in buying Alaska without the purpose of making it a State? It seems, let it be said with all respect, that we have reached the reductio ad absurdum, and that the constitutional argument in any of its phases need not be further pursued.

**The Little Americans**

If I have wearied you with these detailed proofs of a doctrine which Mr. Justice Morrow rightly says is now well established, and these replies to its assailants, the apology must be found in the persistence with which the utter lack of constitutional power to deal with our new possessions has been vociferously urged from the outset by the large class of our people whom I venture to designate as the Little Americans — using that term not in the least in disparagement, but solely as distinctive and convenient. From the beginning of the century, at every epoch in our history, we have had these Little Americans. They opposed Jefferson as to getting Louisiana. They opposed Monroe as to Florida. They were vehement against Texas, against California, against organizing Oregon and Washington, against the

Gadsden Purchase, against Alaska and against the Sandwich Islands. At nearly every stage in that long story of expansion the Little Americans have either denied the Constitutional authority to acquire and govern, or denounced the acquisitions as worthless and dangerous. At one stage, indeed, they went further. When State after State was passing ordinances of secession, they raised the cry, erroneously attributed to my distinguished predecessor and friend, Horace Greeley, but really uttered by Winfield Scott, "Wayward Sisters, depart in peace!" Happily this form, too, of "Little Americanism" failed. We are all glad now — my distinguished classmate here,* who wore the gray and invaded Ohio with Morgan, as glad as myself — we all rejoice that these doctrines were then opposed and overborne. It was seen then, and I venture to think it may be seen now, that it is a fundamental principle with the American people, and a duty imposed upon all who represent them, to maintain the Continental Union of American Independent States in all the purity of the fathers' conception; to hold what belongs to it, and get what it is entitled to; and, finally, that wherever its flag has been rightfully advanced, there it is to be kept. If that be Imperialism, make the most of it!

**The Plain Path of Duty**

It was no vulgar lust of power that inspired the statesmen and soldiers of the Republic when they resisted the halting counsel of the Little Americans in the past. Nor is it now. Far other is the spirit we invoke —

> Stern daughter of the Voice of God,
> O Duty! If that name thou love —

in that name we beg for a study of what the new situation that is upon us, the new world opening around us now demands at our hands.

The people of the United States will not refuse an appeal in that name. They never have. They had been so occupied, since the Civil War, first in repairing its ravages, and then in occupying and possessing their own Continent, they had been so little accustomed, in this generation or the last, to even the thought of foreign war, that one readily understands why at the outset they hardly realized how absolute is the duty of an honorable conqueror to accept and discharge the responsibilities of his conquest. But this is no longer a child-nation, irresponsible in its non-age and incapable of comprehending or assuming the responsibility of its acts. A child that breaks a pane of glass

* The Hon. Albert S. Berry, M. C. from the Covington, Ky., District.

or sets fire to a house may indeed escape. Are we to plead the baby act and claim that we can flounce around the world, breaking international china and burning property, and yet repudiate the bill, because we have not come of age? Who dare say that a self-respecting Power could have sailed away from Manila and repudiated the responsibilities of its victorious belligerency? After going into a war for Humanity, were we so craven that we should seek freedom from further trouble at the expense of Civilization?

If we did not want those responsibilities we ought not to have gone to war, and I for one would have been content. But, having chosen to go to war, and having been speedily and overwhelmingly successful, we should be ashamed even to think of running away from what inexorably followed. Mark what the successive steps were, and how link by link the chain that binds us now was forged.

The moment war was foreseen, the fleet we usually have in Chinese waters became indispensable, not merely as before to protect our trade and our missionaries in China, but to checkmate the Spanish fleet, which otherwise held San Francisco and the whole Pacific coast at its mercy. When war was declared our fleet was necessarily ordered out of neutral ports. Then it had to go to Manila or go home. If it went home, it left the whole Pacific coast unguarded, save at the particular point it touched; and we should have been at once in a fever of apprehension, chartering hastily another fleet of the fastest ocean-going steamers we could find in the world, to patrol the Pacific from San Diego to Sitka, as we did have to patrol the Atlantic from Key West to Bar Harbor. Palpably this was to go the longest way around to do a task that had to be done in any event; as well as to demoralize our forces at the opening of the war with a manœuvre in which our Navy has never been expert, that of avoiding a contest and sailing away from the enemy! The alternative was properly taken. Dewey went to Manila and sunk the Spanish fleet. We thus broke down Spanish means for controlling the Philippines, and were left with the Spanish responsibility for maintaining order there — responsibility to all the world, German, English, Japanese, Russian and the rest, in one of the great centres and highways of the world's commerce.

But why not turn over that commercial centre and the island on which it is situated to the Tagalogs? To be sure! Under three hundred years of Spanish rule barbarism on Luzon had so far disappeared that this commercial metropolis, as large as San Francisco or Cincinnati, had sprung up, and come to be

thronged by traders and travellers of all nations. Now it is calmly suggested that we might have turned it over to one semi-civilized tribe, absolutely without experience in governing even itself, much less a great community of foreigners — probably in a minority on the island, and at war with its other inhabitants — a tribe which has given the measure of its fitness for being charged with the rights of foreigners and the care of a commercial metropolis by the violation of flags of truce, treachery to the living and mutilation of the dead which have marked its recent wanton rising against the Power that was trying to help it!

If running away from troublesome responsibility and duty is our rôle, why did we not long ago take the opportunity, in our early feebleness, to turn over Tallahassee and St. Augustine to the Seminoles, instead of sending Andrew Jackson to protect the settlements and subdue the savages? Why at the first Apache outbreak after the Gadsden Purchase did we not hasten to turn over New-Mexico and Arizona to *their* inhabitants? Or why, in years within the memory of most of you, when the Sioux and Chippewas rose on our Northwestern frontier, did we not invite them to retain possession of St. Cloud, and even come down, if they liked, to St. Paul and Minneapolis?

Unless I am mistaken in regarding all these suggestions as too unworthy to be entertained by self-respecting citizens of a powerful and self-respecting Nation, we have now reached two conclusions that ought to clear the air and simplify the problem that remains. First, we have ample constitutional power to acquire and govern new territory absolutely at will, according to our sense of right and duty — whether as dependencies, as colonies or as a protectorate. Second, as the legitimate and necessary consequence of our own previous acts, it has become our National and international duty to do it.

**The Policy for our Dependencies**

How shall we set about it? What shall be the policy with which, when order has been inexorably restored, we begin our dealings with the new wards of the Nation? Certainly we must mark our disapproval of the treachery and barbarities of the present contest. Clearly the oppression of other tribes by the Tagalogs must be ended; or the oppression of any tribe by any other within the sphere of our active control. Wars between the tribes must be discouraged and prevented. We must seek to suppress crimes of violence and private vengeance, secure individual liberty, protect individual property and promote the study of the arts of peace. Above all, we must give

and enforce justice; and for the rest, as far as possible, leave them alone. By all means let us avoid a fussy meddling with their customs, manners, prejudices and beliefs. Give them order and justice and trust to these to win them in other regards to our ways. All this points directly to utilizing existing agencies as much as possible, developing native initiative and control in local matters as fast and as far as we can, and ultimately giving them the greatest degree of self-government for which they prove themselves fitted.

Under any conditions that exist now or have existed for three hundred years, a homogeneous native government over the whole archipelago is obviously impossible. Its relations to the outside world must necessarily be assumed by us. We must preserve order in Philippine waters, regulate the harbors, fix and collect the duties, apportion the revenue and supervise the expenditure. We must enforce sanitary measures. We must retain such a control of the superior courts as shall make justice certainly attainable, and such control of the police as shall insure its enforcement. But in all this, after the absolute authority has been established, the further the natives can themselves be used to carry out details the better.

Such a system might not be unwise even for a colony to which we had reason to expect a considerable emigration of our own people. If experience of a kindred nation in dealing with similar problems counts for anything, it is certainly wise for a distant dependency, always to be populated mainly, save in the great cities, by native races, and little likely ever to be quite able to stand alone, while, nevertheless, we wish to help it just as much as possible to that end.

**The Duty of Public Servants**

Certainly this is no bed of flowery ease in the dreamy Orient to which we are led. No doubt these first glimpses of the task that lies before us, as well as the warfare with distant tribes into which we have been unexpectedly plunged, will provoke for the time a certain discontent with our new possessions. But on a far-reaching question of National policy the wise public man is not so greatly disturbed by what people say in momentary discouragement under the first temporary check. That which really concerns him is what people at a later day, or even in a later generation, might say of men trusted with great duties for their country, who proved unequal to their opportunities, and through some short-sighted timidity of the moment lost the chance of centuries.

It is quite true, as was recently reported in what seemed an

authoritative way from Washington, that the Peace Commissioners were not entirely of one mind at the outset, and equally true that the final conclusion at Washington was apparently reached on the Commission's recommendation from Paris. As the cold fit, in the language of one of our censors, has followed the hot fit in the popular temper, I readily take the time which hostile critics consider unfavorable, for accepting my own share of responsibility, and for avowing for myself that I declared my belief in the duty and policy of holding the whole Philippine Archipelago in the very first conference of the Commissioners in the President's room at the White House, in advance of any instructions of any sort. If vindication for it be needed, I confidently await the future.

What *is* the duty of a public servant as to profiting by opportunities to secure for his country what all the rest of the world considers material advantages? Even if he could persuade himself that rejecting them is morally and internationally admissible, is he at liberty to commit his country irrevocably to their rejection, because they do not wholly please his fancy? At a former negotiation of our own in Paris, the great desire of the United States representative, as well as of his Government, had been mainly to secure the settled or partly settled country adjoining us on the south, stretching from the Floridas to the city of New-Orleans. The possession of the vast unsettled and unknown Louisiana Territory, west of the Mississippi, was neither sought nor thought of. Suddenly, on an eventful morning in April, 1803, Talleyrand astonished Livingston by offering, on behalf of Napoleon, to sell to the United States, not the Floridas at all, but merely Louisiana, "a raw little semi-tropical frontier town and an unexplored wilderness." Suppose Livingston had rejected the offer? Or suppose Gadsden had not exceeded his instructions in Mexico and boldly grasped the opportunity that offered to rectify and make secure our Southwestern frontier?

The difficulties which at present discourage us are largely of our own creation. It is not for any of us to think of attempting to apportion the blame. The only thing we are sure of is that it was for no lack of authority that we hesitated and drifted till the Tagalogs were convinced we were afraid of them, and could be driven out before reinforcements arrived. That was the very thing our officers had warned us against—the least sign of hesitation or uncertainty—the very danger every European with knowledge of the situation had dinned in our ears. Everybody declared that difficulties were sure to grow on our hands in geometrical proportion to our delays; and it was perfectly known

to the respective branches of our Government, primarily concerned, that while the delay went on it was in neglect of a duty we had voluntarily assumed.

For the American Commissioners, with due authority, distinctly offered to assume responsibility, pending the ratification of the treaty, for the protection of life and property and the preservation of order throughout the whole archipelago. The Spanish Commissioners, after consultation with their Government, refused this, but agreed that each Power should be charged, pending the ratification, with the maintenance of order in the places where it was established. The American assent to that left absolutely no question as to the diminished but still grave responsibility thus devolved. That responsibility was avoided from the hour the treaty was signed till the hour when the Tagalog chieftain, at the head of an army he had been deliberately gathering and organizing, took things in his own hand and made the attack he had so long threatened. Disorder, forced loans, impressment, confiscation, seizure of waterworks, contemptuous violations of our guard lines, and even the practical siege of the city of Manila had meantime been going on within gunshot of troops held there inactive by the Nation which had volunteered responsibility for order throughout the archipelago, and had been distinctly left with responsibility for order in the island on which it was established. If the bitterest enemy of the United States had sought to bring upon it in that quarter the greatest trouble in the shortest time, he could have devised for that end no policy more successful than the one we actually pursued. There may have been controlling reasons for it. An opposite course might perhaps have cost more elsewhere than it saved in Luzon. On that point the public cannot now form even an opinion. But as to the effect in Luzon there is no doubt; and because of it we have the right to ask a delay in judgment about results there until the present evil can be undone.

**The Carnival of Captious Objection**

Meantime, in accordance with a well-known and probably unchangeable law of human nature, this is the carnival and very heyday of the objectors. The air is filled with their discouragement.

Some exclaim that Americans are incapable of colonizing or of managing colonies; that there is something in our National character or institutions that wholly unfits us for the work. Yet the most successful colonies in the whole world were the thirteen original colonies on our Atlantic coast; and the most

successful colonists were our own grandfathers! Have the grandsons so degenerated that they are incapable of colonizing at all, or of managing colonies? Who says so? Is it any one with the glorious history of this continental colonization bred in his bone and leaping in his blood? Or is it some refugee from a foreign country he was discontented with, who now finds pleasure in disparaging the capacity of the new country he came to, while he has neither caught its spirit nor grasped the meaning of its history?

Some bewail the alleged fact that our system gives us no fitness for managing colonies or dependencies. Has our system been found weaker, then, than other forms of government, less adaptable to emergencies, and with people less fit to cope with them? Is the difficulty inherent, or is it possible that the emergency may show, as emergencies have shown before, that whatever task intelligence, energy and courage can surmount the American people and their Government can rise to?

It is said the conditions in our new possessions are wholly different from any we have previously encountered. This is true; and there is little doubt the new circumstances will bring great modifications in methods. That is an excellent reason, among others, for some doubt at the outset as to whether we know all about it, but not for despairing of our capacity to learn. It might be remembered that we have encountered some varieties of conditions already. The work in Florida was different from that at Plymouth Rock. Louisiana and Texas showed again new sets of conditions; California others; Puget Sound and Alaska still others, and we did not always have unbroken success and plain sailing from the outset in any of them.

It is said we cannot colonize the tropics, because our people cannot labor there. Perhaps not, especially if they refuse to obey the prudent precautions which centuries of experience have enjoined upon others. But what, then, are we going to do with Porto Rico? How soon are our people going to flee from Arizona? And why is life impossible to Americans in Manila and Cebu and Iloilo, but attractive to the throngs of Europeans who have built up those cities? Can we mine all over the world, from South Africa to the Klondike, but not in Palawan? Can we grow tobacco in Cuba, but not in Cebu; or rice in Louisiana, but not in Luzon?

An alarm is raised that the laboring classes are endangered by competition with cheap tropical labor or its products. How? The interpretation of the Constitution which would permit that is the interpretation which has been repudiated

in an unbroken line of decisions for over three-quarters of a century. Only one possibility of danger to American labor exists in our new possessions — the lunacy or worse of the dreamers who want to prepare for the admission of some of them as States in the American Union. Till then we can make any law we like to prevent the immigration of their laborers, and any tariff we like to regulate the admission of their products.

It is said we are pursuing a fine method for restoring order, in prolonging the war we began for humanity by forcing liberty and justice on an unwilling people at the point of the bayonet. The sneer is cheap. How else have these blessings been generally diffused? How often in the history of the world has barbarism been replaced by civilization without bloodshed? How were our own liberty and justice established and diffused on this continent? Would the process have been less bloody if a part of our own people had noisily taken the side of the English, the Mexican or the savage, and protested against "extreme measures"?

Some say a war to extend freedom in Cuba or elsewhere is right, and therefore our duty; but the war in the Philippines now is purely selfish, and therefore all wrong. The statement is inaccurate; it is a war we are in duty bound to wage at any rate till order is restored — but let that pass. Suppose it to be merely a war in defence of our own just rights and interests. Since when did such a war become wrong? Is our National motto to be "Quixotic on the one hand; Chinese on the other"?

How much better it would have been, say others, to mind our own business. No doubt; but if we were to begin crying over spilt milk in that way, the place to begin was where the milk was spilled — in the Congress that resolved upon war with Spain. Since that Congressional action we have been minding what it made our own business quite diligently, and an essential part of our business now is the responsibility for our own past acts, whether in Havana or Manila.

Some say we began the war for humanity, and are therefore disgraced by coming out of it with increased territory. Then a penalty must always be imposed upon a victorious nation for presuming to do a good act. The only nation to be exempt from such a penalty upon success is to be the nation that was in the wrong! It is to have a premium; for it is thus relieved from the penalty which modern practice in the interest of civilization requires, the payment of an indemnity for the cost of an unjust war. Furthermore, the representatives of the nation

that does a good act are thus bound to reject any opportunity for lightening the national load it entails. They must leave the full burden upon their country, to be dealt with in due time by the individual taxpayer!

Again we have superfine discussions of what the United States "stands for." It does not stand, we are told, for foreign conquest, or for colonies or dependencies, or other extensions of its power and influence. It stands for the development of the individual man. There is a germ of a great truth in this, but the development of the truth is lost sight of. Individual initiative is a good thing, and our institutions do develop it — and its consequences! There is a species of individualism, too, about a bulldog. When he takes hold he holds on. It may as well be noticed by the objectors that that is a characteristic much appreciated by the American people. They, too, hold on. They remember besides a pregnant phrase of their fathers, who "ordained this Constitution," among other things, "to promote the general welfare." That is a thing for which "this Government stands" also; and woe to the public servant who rejects brilliant opportunities to promote it — on the Pacific Ocean as well as the Atlantic — by commerce as well as by agriculture or manufactures.

It is said the Philippines are worthless — have in fact already cost us more than the value of their entire trade for many years to come. So much the more, then, are we bound to do our duty by them. But we have also heard in turn, and from the same quarters, that every one of our previous acquisitions was worthless.

Again it is said our continent is more than enough for all our needs; and our extensions should stop at the Pacific. What is this but proposing such a policy of self-sufficient isolation as we are accustomed to reprobate in China — planning to develop only on the soil on which we stand, and expecting the rest of the world to protect our trade if we have any? Can a nation with safety set Chinese limits to its growth? When a tree stops growing our foresters tell us it is ripe for the axe. When a man stops in his physical and intellectual growth he begins to decay. When a business stops growing it is in danger of decline. When a nation stops growing it has passed the meridian of its course, and its shadows fall eastward.

Is China to be our model, or Great Britain? Or, better still, are we to follow the instincts of our own people? The policy of isolating ourselves is a policy for the refusal of both duties and opportunities — duties to foreign nations and to civilization

which cannot be respectably evaded — opportunities for the development of our power on the Pacific in the twentieth century which it would be craven to abandon. There has been a curious "about-face," an absolute reversal of attitude toward England, on the part of our Little Americans, especially at the East and among the more educated classes. But yesterday nearly all of them were pointing to England as our example. There young men of education and position felt it a duty to go into politics. There they had built up a model civil service. There their cities were better governed, their streets cleaner, their mails more promptly delivered. There the responsibilities of their colonial system had enforced the purification of domestic politics, the relentless punishment of corrupt practices, and the abolition of bribery in elections, either by money or by office. There they had foreign trade, and a commercial marine, and a trained and efficient foreign service, and to be an English citizen was to have a safeguard the whole world round. Our young men were commended to their example; our legislators were exhorted to study their practice and its results. Suddenly these same teachers turn around. They warn us against the infection of England's example. They tell us her colonial system is a failure; that she would be stronger without her colonies than with them; that she is eaten up with "militarism"; that to keep Cuba or the Philippines is what a selfish, conquering, land-grabbing, aristocratic Government like England would do, and that her policy and methods are utterly incompatible with our institutions. When a court thus reverses itself without obvious reason (except a temporary partisan purpose), our people are apt to put their trust in other tribunals.

**The Future**

"I had thought," said Wendell Phillips, in his noted apology for standing for the first time in his anti-slavery life under the flag of his country, and welcoming the tread of Massachusetts men, marshalled for war — "I had thought Massachusetts wholly choked with cotton dust and cankered with gold." If Little Americans have thought so of their country in these stirring days, and have fancied that initial reverses would induce it to abandon its duty, its rights and its great, permanent interests, they will live to see their mistake. They will find it giving a deaf ear to these unworthy complaints of temporary trouble or present loss; and turning gladly from all this incoherent and resultless clamor to the new world opening around us. Already it draws us out of ourselves. The provincial isolation is gone; and provincial habits of thought will go. There is a larger interest in what

other lands have to show and teach; a larger confidence in our own; a higher resolve that it shall do its whole duty to mankind, moral as well as material, international as well as national, in such fashion as becomes Time's latest offspring and its greatest. We are grown more nearly citizens of the world.

This new knowledge, these new duties and interests must have two effects — they must extend our power, influence and trade, and they must elevate the public service. Every returning soldier or traveller tells the same story—that the very name American has taken a new significance throughout the Orient. The shrewd Oriental no longer regards us as a second or third class Power. He has just seen the only signs he recognizes of a nation that knows its rights and dare maintain them — a nation that has come to stay, with an empire of its own in the China Sea, and a Navy which, from what he has seen, he believes will be able to defend it against the world. He straightway concludes, after the Oriental fashion, that it is a nation whose citizens must henceforth be secure in all their rights, whose missionaries must be endured with patience and even protected, and whose friendship must be sedulously cultivated. The National prestige is enormously increased, and trade follows prestige — especially in the Farther East. Not within a century, not during our whole history, has such a field opened for our reaping. Planted directly in front of the Chinese colossus, on a great territory of our own, we have the first and best chance to profit by his awakening. Commanding both sides of the Pacific, and the available coal supplies on each, we command the Ocean that, according to the old prediction, is to bear the bulk of the world's commerce in the twentieth century. Our glorious land between the Sierras and the sea may then become as busy a hive as New-England itself, and the whole continent must take fresh life from the generous blood of this natural and necessary commerce between people of different climates and zones, who gladly buy from each other what they do not produce themselves.

But these developments of power and trade are the least of the advantages we may hopefully expect. The faults in American character and life which the Little Americans tell us prove the people unfit for these duties are the very faults that will be cured by them. The recklessness and heedless self-sufficiency of youth must disappear. Great responsibilities, suddenly devolved, must sober and elevate now, as they have always done in natures not originally bad, throughout the whole history of the world.

The new interests abroad must compel an improved foreign

service. It has heretofore been worse than we ever knew, and also better. On great occasions and in great fields our diplomatic record ranks with the best in the world. No nation stands higher in those new contributions to international law which form the highwater mark of civilization from one generation to another. At the same time, in fields less under the public eye, our foreign service has been haphazard at the best and often bad beyond belief — ludicrous and humiliating. The harm thus wrought to our National good name and the positive injury to our trade have been more than we realized. We cannot escape realizing them now, and when the American people wake up to a wrong they are apt to right it.

More important still should be the improvement in the general public service at home and in our new possessions. New duties must bring new methods. Ward politics were banished from India and Egypt, as the price of successful administration, and they must be excluded from Porto Rico and Luzon. The practical common sense of the American people will soon see that any other course is disastrous. Gigantic business interests must come to reinforce the theorists in favor of a reform that shall really elevate and purify the Civil Service.

Hand in hand with these benefits to ourselves, which it is the duty of public servants to secure, go benefits to our new wards and benefits to mankind. There, then, is what the United States is to "stand for" in all the resplendent future:— the rights and interests of its own Government; the general welfare of its own people; the extension of ordered liberty in the dark places of the earth; the spread of civilization and religion, and a consequent increase in the sum of human happiness in the world.

From E. H. Wood

AN ADDRESS

AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY ON
COMMEMORATION DAY

# LATER ASPECTS OF OUR NEW DUTIES

BY

WHITELAW REID

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AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY ON COMMEMORATION DAY
OCTOBER 21, 1899

BY
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At the celebration of Commemoration Day, in pursuance of previous action by the governing bodies of the University, Cyrus Fogg Brackett, Henry Professor of Physics, made the following presentation:

*Mr. President:*

I have the honor to present for the degree of Doctor of Laws the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, Editor of *The Tribune.*

Mr. Reid is a conspicuous example of our better American citizenship, as witness the various positions of influence, honor, and trust which he has worthily occupied. To have served as legislative, war and general correspondent for various influential journals during the stirring times of the Civil War, to have passed rapidly to the Editorship-in-Chief of *The Tribune*, were enough to give scope to the powers and to satisfy the ambitions of most men. But it was our good fortune that Mr. Reid accepted the mission to France, in 1889, when difficult matters were pending, and that by his wisdom and tact he secured a satisfactory solution of them. More recently he gracefully represented this country at the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen. Still more recent and honorable service has he rendered his country and the world as a member of the Commission which sat in Paris to adjust the conditions of peace following the conflict of arms between this country and Spain. Besides these Mr. Reid has other claims to grateful recognition arising from his continued interest in literature and learning.

After conferring the degree, and welcoming Mr. Reid to the fellowship of the University, its President, the Rev. Dr. Francis L. Patton, continued:

We are here to-day to celebrate the 153d anniversary of the signing of the charter of Princeton University. We give a very large and grateful welcome to our friends who have done us the honor of visiting us on this occasion. At this time it is customary for the President of the University to say something in respect to the progress of the University during the interval since our last meeting. We express anew our obligations to that most generous alumnus of Princeton University who has given us Stafford Little Hall. If you will look at the catalogue which has just come from the press, there is a page devoted to the Stafford Little lectureship, and it is my great gratification to be able to say, as you will see, that the incumbent of that lectureship is a person no less distin-

guished than our fellow townsman, the Hon. Grover Cleveland, ex-President of the United States. That same catalogue tells the interesting story that the enrolment of this year exceeds the enrolment of last year by ninety-five men.

We gave leave of absence yesterday to Professor Baldwin, in order that he might see through the press on the other side his dictionary of philosophy. I take leave to say it will be a monumental work, which will bring honor to Princeton, for Professor Baldwin is the chief editor of that work, and he has associated with him the most distinguished men in the sphere of philosophy both in this country and in Europe.

Under the auspices of the author of the Volunteer Arctic Expedition in command of our own Professor Libbey, the American flag and the Princeton flag were carried farther north than they have ever been carried before in an American vessel since 1872. And the result of that expedition is successful beyond any other expedition in the interest of natural history in the Arctic Sea.

We sustain a peculiar relation to both religion and politics: or at least we sustain a relation that we never cease to insist upon, whether peculiar or not. We are distinctively Christians, but in no sense sectarian, and we are distinctively American and patriotic, but in no sense partisan in our politics. And so we rejoice equally in seeing the commander-in-chief of the Democratic forces of the country upon this platform, and in seeing, as we see to-day, a conspicuous embodiment of the ideas of the Republican party. We have asked Mr. Reid to come here and speak to us this morning, not because he is a Republican, but because he is a distinguished man who has had a large and varied experience in the higher realms of practical as well as theoretical politics, and who, whether we agree with him or not, at least has the courage of his convictions and can speak with authority, and not as a scribe, what he has to say. I count it one of the pleasures of my life to welcome Mr. Reid on this occasion, and the trustees of this University consider it a special pleasure to record his name among the laureati of the Princeton University.

# LATER ASPECTS OF OUR NEW DUTIES

## AN ADDRESS AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

The invitation for to-day with which Princeton honored me was accompanied with the hint that a discussion of some phase of current public affairs would not be unwelcome. That phase which has for the past year or two most absorbed public attention is now more absorbing than ever. Elsewhere I have already spoken upon it, more perhaps than enough; but I cannot better obey the summons of this honored and historic University, or better deserve the attention of this company of scholars, gentlemen and patriots, than by saying with absolute candor what its present aspects prompt.

**Questions that have been disposed of**

And first, the chaos of opinion into which the country was thrown by the outbreak of the Spanish-American War ceases to be wholly without form and void. The discussions of a year have clarified ideas; and on some points we may consider that the American people have substantially reached definite conclusions.

There is no need, therefore, to debate laboriously before you whether Dewey was right in going to Manila. Everybody now realizes that, once war was begun, absolutely the most efficient means of making it speedily and overwhelmingly victorious, as well as of defending the most exposed half of our own coast, was to go to Manila. "Find the Spanish fleet and destroy it" was as wise an order as the President ever issued, and he was equally wise in choosing the man to carry it out.

So also there is no need to debate whether Dewey was right in staying there. From that come his most enduring laurels. The American people admire him for the battle which sunk the Spanish navy; but they trust and love him for the months of trial and triumph that followed. The Administration that should have ordered him to abandon the Eastern foothold he had conquered for his country — to sail away like a sated pirate

from the port where his victory broke down all civilized authority but our own, and his presence alone prevented domestic anarchy and foreign spoliation — would have deserved to be hooted out of the Capital.

So, again, there is no need to debate whether the Peace Commissioners should have thrown away in Paris what Dewey had won in Manila. The public servant who, without instructions, should in a gush of irresponsible sentimentality abandon great possessions, to which his country is justly entitled, whether by conquest or as indemnity for unjust war, would be not only an unprofitable but a faithless servant. It was their obvious duty to hold what Dewey had won, at least till the American people had time to consider and decide otherwise.

Is there any need to debate whether the American people will abandon it now? Those who have a fancy for that species of dialectics may weigh the chances, and evolve from circumstances of their own imagination, and canons of national and international obligation of their own manufacture, conclusions to their own liking. I need not consume much of your time in that unprofitable pursuit. We may as well, here and now, keep our feet on solid ground and deal with facts as they are. The American people are in lawful possession of the Philippines, with the assent of all Christendom, with a title as indisputable as its title to California; and, though the debate will linger for awhile, and perhaps drift unhappily into partisan contention, the generation is yet unborn that will see them abandoned to the possession of any other Power. The Nation that scatters principalities as a prodigal does his inheritance is too sentimental and moonshiny for the nineteenth century, or the twentieth; and too unpractical for Americans of any period. It may flourish in Arcadia or Altruria; but it does not among the sons of the pilgrims, or on the continent they subdued by stern struggle to the uses of civilization.

Nevertheless, our people did stop to consider very carefully their Constitutional powers. I believe we have reached a point also where the result of that consideration may be safely assumed. The Constitutional arguments have been fully presented and the expositions and decisions marshalled. It is enough now to say that the preponderance of Constitutional authorities, with Gouverneur Morris, Daniel Webster and Thomas H. Benton at their head, and the unbroken tendency of decisions by the Courts of the United States, for at least the last fifty years, from Mr. Chief Justice Waite and Mr. Justice

Miller and Mr. Justice Stanley Matthews, of the Supreme Court, down to the very latest utterance on the subject, that of Mr. Justice Morrow, of the Circuit Court of Appeals, sustains the power to acquire "territory or other property" anywhere, and govern it as we please. Inhabitants of such territory are secure in the civil rights, guaranteed by the Constitution; but they have no political rights under it save as Congress confers them. The evidence in support of this view has been fully set forth, examined and weighed; and, unless I greatly mistake, a popular decision on the subject has been reached. The Constitutional power is no longer seriously disputed, and even those who raised the doubt do not seem now to rely upon it.

**Contributions to International Law and Morality**

In thus summarizing what has been already settled, or disposed of in our dealings with the questions of the war, I may be permitted to pause for a moment on the American contributions it brought about, to international morality and law. On the day on which the American Peace Commissioners to Paris sailed for home after the ceremonial courtesy with which their labors were concluded, the most authoritative journal in the world published an interview with the eminent President of the corresponding Spanish Commission, then and for some time afterward President also of the Spanish Senate, in which he was reported as saying: "We knew in advance that we should have to deal with an implacable conqueror, who would in no way concern himself with any pre-existing International Law, but whose sole object was to reap from victory the largest possible advantage. This conception of International Law is absolutely new; it is no longer a case of might against right, but of might without right. . . . The Americans have acted as *vainqueurs parvenus*."

Much may be pardoned to the anguish of an old and trusted public servant over the misfortunes of his native land. We may even in our sympathy endeavor to forget what country it was that proposed to defy the agreements of the Conference of Paris and the general judgment of Nations by resorting to Privateering; or what country it was that preferred to risk becoming an asylum for the criminals of a continent rather than revive, even temporarily, that basic and elementary implement of modern international justice, an Extradition Treaty, which had been in force with acceptable results for over twenty years. But when Americans are stigmatized as "vainqueurs parvenus," who by virtue of mere strength violate International Law against a

prostrate foe, and when one of the ablest of their American critics encourages the Spanish contention, by talking of our "bulldog diplomacy at Paris," it gives us occasion to challenge the approval of the world — as the facts amply warrant — for the scrupulous conformity to existing International Law, and the important contributions to its beneficent advancement that have distinguished the action of the United States throughout these whole transactions. Having already set these forth in some detail before a foreign audience, I must not now do more than offer the briefest summary.

The United States ended the toleration of Privateering. It was perfectly free to commission privateers on the day war was declared. Spain was equally free, and it was proclaimed from Madrid that the Atlantic would soon swarm with them, sweeping American commerce from the ocean. Under these circumstances one of the very first and noblest acts of the President was to announce that the United States would not avail itself of the right to send out privateers, reserved under the Declaration of Paris. The fast thickening disasters of Spain prevented her from doing it, and thus substantially completed the practice or acquiescence of the civilized world, essential to the acceptance of a principle in International Law. It is safe to assume that Christendom will henceforth treat Privateering as under International ban.

The United States promoted the cause of genuine International Arbitration by promptly and emphatically rejecting an insidious proposal for a spurious one. It taught those who deliberately prefer War to Arbitration, and when, beaten at it, seek then to get the benefit of a second remedy, that honest Arbitration must come before War, to avert its horrors; not after war, to evade its penalties.

The United States promoted peace among nations and so served humanity by sternly enforcing the rule that they who bring on an unjust war must pay for it. For years the overwhelming tendency of its people had been against any territorial aggrandizement, even a peaceful one; but it unflinchingly exacted the easiest if not the only payment Spain could make for a war that cost us at the lowest from four to five hundred million dollars, by taking Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines. It requires some courage to describe this as either a violation of International Law, or a display of unprecedented severity by an implacable conqueror, in the very city and before the very generation that saw the Franco-Prussian war con-

Such a course, Congress, after full investigation and deliberation, might perhaps wisely formulate. Such a course, with slight modifications, to meet existing limitations as to his powers, has already been entered upon by the President, and can doubtless be carried on indefinitely by him until Congress acts. This action should certainly not be precipitate. The system demands most careful study, not only in the light of what the English and Dutch, the most successful holders of tropical countries, have done, but also in the light of the peculiar and varied circumstances that confront us on these different and distant islands, and among these widely differing races—circumstances to which no previous experience exactly applies, and for which no uniform system could be applicable. If Congress should take as long a time before action to study the problem as it has taken in the Sandwich Islands, or even in Alaska, the President's power would still be equal to the emergency, and the policy, while flexible, could still be made as continuous, coherent and practical as his best information and ability would permit.

**Evasions of Duty**

Against such a conscientious and painstaking course in dealing with the grave responsibilities that are upon us in the East, two lines of evasion are sure to threaten. The one is the policy of the upright but short-sighted and strictly Continental Patriot —the same which an illustrious statesman of another country followed in the Soudan: "Scuttle as quick as you can." The other is the policy of the Exuberant Patriot, who believes in the universal adaptability and immediate extension of American institutions. He thinks all men everywhere as fit to vote as himself, and wants them for partners. He is eager to have them prepare at once, in our new possessions, first in the West Indies, then in the East, to send Senators and Representatives to Congress—and his policy is: "Make territories of them now and States in the American Union as soon as possible." I wish to speak with the utmost respect of the sincere advocates of both theories, but must say that the one seems to me to fall short of a proper regard for either our duty or our interest, and the other to be National suicide.

Gentlemen in whose ability and patriotism we all have confidence have lately put the first of these policies for evading our duty in the form of a protest "against the expansion and establishment of the dominion of the United States, by conquest or otherwise, over unwilling peoples in any part of the globe." Of this it may be said, first, that any application of it to the Philip-

pines probably assumes a factional and temporary outbreak to represent a settled unwillingness. Aaron Burr came near making New Orleans as "unwilling" as Aguinaldo has made Manila. Mr. Lincoln, you remember, always believed the people of North Carolina not unwilling to remain in the Union, yet we know what they did. But next, this protest contemplates evading the present responsibility by a reversal of our settled policy any way. Mr. Lincoln probably never doubted the unwillingness of South Carolina to remain in the Union, but that did not change his course. Mr. Seward never inquired whether the Alaskans were unwilling or not. The historic position of the United States, from the day when Jefferson braved the envenomed anti-expansion sentiment of his time and bought the territory west of the Mississippi, on down, has been to consider, not the willingness or unwillingness of any inhabitants, whether aboriginal or colonists, but solely our National opportunity, our own duty and our own interests.

Is it said that this is imperialism? That implies usurpation of power, and there is absolutely no ground for such a charge against this Administration at any one stage in these whole transactions. If any complaint on this score is to lie, it must relate to the critical period when we were accepting responsibility for order at Manila, and must be for the exercise of too little power, not too much. It is not imperialism to take up honestly the responsibility for order we incurred before the world, and continue under it, even if that should lead us to extend the civil rights of the American Constitution over new regions and strange peoples. It is not imperialism, when duty keeps us among these chaotic, warring, distracted tribes, civilized, semi-civilized and barbarous, to help them, as far as their several capacities will permit, toward self-government on the basis of those civil rights.

A terser and more taking statement of opposition has been recently attributed to a gentleman highly honored by this University, and by his townsmen here. I gladly seize this opportunity, as a consistent opponent during his whole political life, to add that his words carry great weight throughout the country by reason of the unquestioned ability, courage and patriotic devotion he has brought to the public service. He is reported as protesting simply against "the use of power in the extension of American institutions." But does not this, if applied to the present situation, seem also to miss an important distinction? What planted us in the Philippines was the use of our power in

the most efficient naval and military defence then available for our own institutions where they already exist, against the attack of Spain. If the responsibility entailed by the result of these acts in our own defence does involve some extension of our institutions, shall we therefore run away from it? If a guarantee to chaotic tribes of the civil rights secured by the American Constitution does prove to be an incident springing from the discharge of the duty that has rested upon us from the moment we drove Spain out, is that a result so objectionable as to warrant us in abandoning our duty?

There is, it is true, one other alternative — the one which Aguinaldo himself is said to have suggested, and which has certainly been put forth in his behalf with the utmost simplicity and sincerity by a conspicuous statesman at Chicago. We might at once solicit peace from Aguinaldo. We might then encourage him to extend his rule over the whole country, Catholic, Pagan and Mahometan, willing and unwilling alike, and promise him whatever aid might be necessary for that task. Meantime, we should undertake to protect him against outside interference from any European or Asiatic nation whose interests on that oceanic highway and in those commercial capitals might be imperilled! I do not desire to discuss that proposition. And I submit to candid men that there are just those three courses and no more now open to us — to run away, to protect Aguinaldo, or to back up our own Army and firmly hold on!

**Objections to duty**

If this fact be clearly perceived, if the choice between these three courses be once recognized as the only choice the present situation permits, our minds will be less disturbed by the confused cries of perplexity and discontent that still fill the air. Thus men often say, "If you believe in liberty for yourself, why refuse it to the Tagals?" That is right; — they should have, in the degree of their capacity, the only kind of liberty worth having in the world, the only kind that is not a curse to its possessors and to all in contact with them; — ordered liberty, under law, for which the wisdom of man has not yet found a better safeguard than the guarantees of civil rights in the Constitution of the United States. Who supposes that to be the liberty for which Aguinaldo is fighting? What his people want, and what the statesman at Chicago wishes us to use the Army and Navy of the United States to help him get, is the liberty to rule others; — the liberty first to turn our own troops

out of the city and harbor we had in our own self-defense captured from their enemies; the liberty next to rule that great commercial city, and the tribes of the interior, instead of leaving us to exercise the rule over them that events have forced upon us, till it is fairly shown that they can rule themselves.

Again, it is said: "You are depriving them of freedom." But they never had freedom, and could not have it now. Even if they could subdue the other tribes in Luzon, they could not establish such order on the other islands and in the waters of the archipelago as to deprive foreign Powers of an immediate excuse for interference. What we are doing is in the double line of preventing otherwise inevitable foreign seizure and putting a stop to domestic war.

"But you cannot fit people for freedom — they must fit themselves, just as we must do our own crawling and stumbling in order to learn to walk." The illustration is unfortunate. Must the crawling baby, then, be abandoned by its natural or accidental guardian, and left to itself to grow strong by struggling, or to perish, as may happen? Must we turn the Tagals loose on the foreigners in Manila, and on their enemies in the other tribes, that by following their instincts they may fit themselves for freedom?

Again, "It will injure us to exert power over an unwilling people — just as slavery injured the slaveholders themselves." Then a community is injured by maintaining a police. Then a court is injured by rendering a just decree, and an officer by executing it. Then it is a greater injury, for instance, to stop piracy than to suffer from it. Then the manly exercise of a just responsibility enfeebles instead of developing and strengthening a nation.

"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." "No man is good enough to govern another against his will." Great truths, from men whose greatness and moral elevation the world admires. But there is a higher authority than Jefferson or Lincoln, who said: "If a man smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Yet he who acted literally on even that divine injunction toward the Malays that attacked our army in Manila would be a congenital idiot to begin with, and his corpse, while it lasted, would remain an object lesson of how not to deal with the present stage of Malay civilization and Christianity.

Why mourn over our present course as a departure from the policy of the Fathers? For a hundred years the uniform policy

cluded, not merely by a partition of territory but also by a cash payment of a thousand millions indemnity.

The United States promoted the peaceful liberalizing of oppressive rule over all subject peoples by making it more difficult to negotiate loans in the markets of the world to subdue their outbreaks. For it firmly rejected in the Cuban adjustments the immoral doctrine that an ill-treated and revolting colony, after gaining its freedom, must still submit to the extortion from it of the cost of the parent country's unsuccessful efforts to subdue it. We therefore left the so-called Cuban bonds on the hands of the Power that issued them, or of the reckless lenders who advanced the money. At the same time the United States strained a point elsewhere in the direction of protecting any legitimate debt, and of dealing generously with a fallen foe, by a payment which the most carping critic will some day be ashamed to describe as "buying the inhabitants of the Philippines at two dollars a head." *

*When Spain sued for peace in the summer of 1898, she had lost control of the Philippines, and any means for regaining control. Her fleet was sunk; her army was cooped up in the Capital, under the guns of the American fleet, and its capture or surrender had only been delayed till the arrival of reinforcements for the American army, because of the fears expressed by foreigners and the principal residents of Manila that the city might be looted by natives unless the American land forces were ample to control them. The Spanish army did so surrender, in fact, before the news of the armistice could reach them.

In the protocol granting an armistice, the United States exacted at once the cession of Porto Rico and an island in the Ladrones; but reserved the decision as to the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines for the treaty of peace, apparently with a view to the possibility of accepting them as further indemnity for the war.

When the treaty came to be negotiated, the United States required the cession of the Philippines. Its Peace Commissioners stated that their Government "felt amply supported in its right to demand this cession, with or without concessions"; added that "this demand might be limited to the single ground of indemnity," and pointed out that it "was not now putting forward any claim for *pecuniary* indemnity, to cover the enormous cost of the war." It accompanied this demand for a transfer of sovereignty with a stipulation for assuming any existing indebtedness of Spain, incurred for public works and improvements of a pacific character in the Philippines. The United States thus asserted its right to the Archipelago for indemnity, and at the same time committed itself to the principle of payment on account of the Philippine debt.

When it became necessary to put the Philippine case into an ultimatum, the Peace Commissioners did not further refer to the debt or give any specific reason either for a cession or for a payment. They simply said they now presented "a new proposition, embodying the concessions which, for the sake of immediate peace, their Government is, under the circumstances, willing to tender."

But it was really nothing but the old proposition, with the mention for the first time of a specific sum for the payment, and without any question of "pacific improvements." That sum just balanced the Philippine debt — forty million Mexican, or, say, twenty million American dollars.

All these are acts distinctly in accord with International Law so far as it exists and applies; and distinctly tending to promote its humane and Christian extension. Let me add in a word that the peace negotiations in no way compromised or affected the Monroe Doctrine, which stands as firm as ever, though much less important with the disappearance of any probable opposition to it; and that the prestige they brought smoothed the way for the one welcome and beneficent result of the Czar's Conference at The Hague, a response to the American proposal for a permanent International Court of Arbitration.

A trifling but characteristic inaccuracy concerning the Peace Commission may as well be corrected before the subject is left. This is the statement, apparently originating from Malay sources, but promptly accepted in this country by unfriendly critics, to the effect that the representative of Aguinaldo was uncivilly refused a hearing in Paris. It was repeated, inadvertently, no doubt, with many other curious distortions of historic facts, only the other day, by a distinguished statesman in Chicago. As he put it, the doors were slammed in their faces in Washington as well as in Paris. Now, whatever might have happened, the door was certainly never slammed in their faces in Paris, for they never came to it. On the contrary, every time Mr. Agoncillo approached any member of the Commission on the subject, he was courteously invited to send the Commissioners a written request for a hearing, which would at any rate receive immediate consideration. No such request ever came, and any Filipino who wrote for a hearing in Paris was heard.

**The Present Duty**

Meanwhile we are now in the midst of hostilities, originating in an unprovoked attack upon our troops in the city they had wrested from the Spaniards, before final action on the treaty. It is easy to say that we ought not to have got into this conflict, and to that I might agree. "I tell you they can't put you in jail on that charge," said the learned and disputatious counsel to the client who had appealed from his cell for help. "But I *am* in," was the sufficient answer. The question just then was not what might have been done, but what can be done. I wish to urge that we can only end this conflict by manfully fighting through it. The talk one hears that the present situation calls for "diplomacy" seems to be mistimed. That species of diplomacy which consists in the tact of prompt action in the right line at the right time might very probably have prevented the present hostilities. Any diplomacy now would seem to our

Tagalog antagonists the raising of the white flag — the final proof that the American people do not sustain their army, in the face of unprovoked attack. Every witness who came before the American Peace Commission in Paris or sent it a written statement, English, German, Belgian, Malay or American, said the same thing. Absolutely the one essential for dealing with the Filipinos was to convince them at the very outset that what you began you stood to; that you did not begin without consideration of right and duty, or quail then before opposition; that your purpose was inexorable and your power irresistible, while submission to it would always insure justice. On the contrary, once let them suspect that protests would dissuade and turbulence deter you, and all the Oriental instinct for delay and bargaining for better terms is aroused, along with the special Malay instinct and genius for intrigue and double-dealing, their profound belief that every man has his price, and their childish ignorance as to the extent to which stump speeches here against any Administration can cause American armies beyond the seas to retreat.

No; the toast which Henry Clay once gave in honor of an earlier naval hero fits the present situation like a glove. He proposed "The policy which looks to peace as the end of war, and war as the means of peace." In that light I maintain that the conflict we are prosecuting is in the line of National necessity and duty; that we cannot turn back; that the truest humanity condemns only needless delay or half-hearted action, and demands overwhelming forces and irresistible onset.

**Eliminate Temporary Discouragements**

But in considering this duty, just as in estimating the Treaty of Paris, we have the right to eliminate all account of the trifling success, so far, in the Philippines, or of the great trouble and cost. What it was right to do there, and what we are bound to do now, must not be obscured by faults of hesitation or insufficient preparation, for which neither the Peace Commissioners nor the people are responsible. I had occasion to say before a college audience last June what I now repeat with the additional emphasis subsequent events have warranted, that the difficulties which at present discourage us are largely of our own making, and I repeat that it is still not for us, here and now, to apportion the blame. We have not the knowledge to say just who or whether any man or body is wholly at fault; what we do know is that the course of hesitation and inaction which the Nation pursued in face of an openly maturing attack was pre-

cisely the policy sure to give us the greatest trouble, and that we are now paying the penalty. If the opposite course had been taken at the outset — unless all the testimony from foreign observers and from our own officers is at fault — there would have been either no outbreak at all, or only one easily controlled and settled to the general satisfaction of most of the civilized and semi-civilized inhabitants of the Island.

On the personal and partisan disputes already lamentably begun, as to Senatorial responsibility, Congressional responsibility, or the responsibility of this or that executive officer, we have no occasion here to enter. What we have a right to insist on is that our general policy in the Philippines shall not be shaped now merely by the just discontent with the bad start. The reports of continual victories that roll back on us every week, like the stone of Sisyphus, and need to be won over again next week; the mistakes of a censorship that was absolutely right as a military measure, but may have been unintelligently, not to say childishly conducted — all these are beside the real question. They must not obscure the duty of restoring order in the regions where our troops have been assailed; or prejudice our subsequent course.

**Pacification and Natural Course of Organization**

I venture to say of that course that neither our duty nor our interest will permit us to stop short of a pacification which can only end in the establishment of such local self-government as the people are found capable of conducting, and its extension just as far and as fast as the people prove fit for it.

The natural development thus to be expected would probably proceed safely, along the lines of least resistance, about in this order: First, and till entirely clear that it is no longer needed, Military Government. Next, the rule of either Military or Civil Governors (for a considerable time, probably the former), relying gradually more and more on native agencies. Thirdly, the development of Dependencies, with an American Civil Governor, with their foreign relations and their highest courts controlled by us, and their financial system largely managed by members of a rigidly organized and jealously protected American Civil Service; but in most other respects steadily becoming more self-governing. And finally, autonomous Colonies, looking to us for little save control of their foreign relations; profiting by the stability and order the backing of a powerful nation guarantees; cultivating more and more intimate trade and personal relations with that nation, and coming to feel themselves participants of its fortunes and renown.

which they began and their sons continued has been acquisition, expansion, annexation, reaching out to remote wildernesses far more distant and inaccessible then than the Philippines are now, — to disconnected regions like Alaska,— to island regions like Midway, the Guano Islands, the Aleutians, the Sandwich Islands,— and even to quasi-protectorates like Liberia and Samoa. Why mourn because of the precedent we are establishing? The precedent was established before we were born. Why distress ourselves with the thought that this is only the beginning, that it opens the door to unlimited expansion? The door is wide open now, and has been ever since Livingston in Paris jumped at Talleyrand's offer to sell him the wilderness west of the Mississippi instead of the settlements eastward to Florida, which we had been trying to get; and Jefferson eagerly sustained him. For the rest, the task that is laid upon us now is not proving so easy as to warrant this fear that we shall soon be seeking unlimited repetitions of it.

**Evasion by Embrace**

That danger, in fact, can come only if we evade our present duty by the second of the two alternative methods of evasion I have mentioned — the one favored by the Exuberant Patriot, who wants to clasp Cuban, Kanaka, and Tagalog alike to his bosom as equal partners with ourselves in our inheritance from the Fathers, and take them all into the Union as States.

We will be wise to open our eyes at once to the gravity and the insidious character of this danger — the very worst that could threaten the American Union. Once begun, the rivalry of parties and the fears of politicians would insure its continuance. With Idaho and Wyoming admitted, they did not dare prolong the exclusion even of Utah, and so we have the shame of seeing an avowed polygamist, with a *prima facie* right to sit in our Congress, as a legislator not merely for Utah but for the whole Union. At this moment scarcely a politician dares frankly avow unalterable opposition to the admission of Cuba, if she should seek it. Yet, bad as that would be, it would necessarily lead to worse. Others in the West Indies might not linger long behind. In any event, with Cuba a State, Porto Rico could not be kept a Territory. No more could the Sandwich Islands. And then, looming direct in our path, like a volcano rising out of the mist on the affrighted vision of mariners tempest tossed in tropic seas, is the spectre of such States as Luzon, and the Visayas, and Hayti.

They would have precedents, too, to quote, and dangerous

ones. When we bought Louisiana we stipulated in the treaty that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States." We made almost identically the same stipulation when we bought Florida. When one of the most respected in the long line of our able Secretaries of State, Mr. William L. Marcy, negotiated a treaty in 1854, for the annexation of the Sandwich Islands, he provided that they should be incorporated as a State, with the same degree of sovereignty as other States, and on perfect equality with them. The schemes prior to 1861, for the purchase or annexation of Cuba, practically all looked to the same result. Not till the annexation of San Domingo was proposed did this feature disappear from our treaties. It is only candid to add that the habit of regarding this as the natural and necessary destiny of any United States territory, as soon as it has sufficient population, has been universal. It is no modern vagary, but the practice, if not the theory, of our whole National life that would open the doors of our Senate and House, and give a share in the Government to these wild-eyed newcomers from the islands of the sea.

The calamity of admitting them cannot be overrated. Even in the case of the best of these islands, it would demoralize and degrade the National suffrage, almost incalculably below the point already reached. To the Senate, unwieldy now, and greatly changed in character from the body contemplated by the Constitution, it would be disastrous. For the present States of the Union it would be an act of folly like that of a business firm which blindly steered for bankruptcy, by freely admitting to full partnership, new members, strangers and non-residents, not only otherwise ill-qualified, but with absolutely conflicting interests. And it would be a distinct violation of the clause in the preamble that "we, the people . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of *America*."

Then why take the Philippines?

There is the only safe ground — on the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. It contemplated a Continental Union of sovereign States. It limited that Union to the American continent. The man that takes it farther sounds its death knell.

**The General Welfare**

I have designedly left to the last any estimate of the material interests we serve by holding on in our present course. Whatever these may be, they are only a subordinate consideration.

We are in the Philippines, as we are in the West Indies, because duty sent us; and we shall remain because we have no right to run away from our duty, even if it does involve far more trouble than we foresaw when we plunged into the war that entailed it. The call to duty, when once plainly understood, is a call Americans never fail to answer; while to calls of interest they have often shown themselves incredulous or contemptuous.

But the Constitution we revere was also ordained "to promote the general welfare," and he is untrue to its purpose who squanders opportunities. Never before have they been showered upon us in such bewildering profusion. Are the American people to rise to the occasion; are they to be as great as their country? Or shall the historian record that at this unexampled crisis, they were controlled by timid ideas and short-sighted views, and so proved unequal to the duty and the opportunity which unforeseen circumstances brought to their doors?" The two richest archipelagoes in the world are practically at our disposal. The greatest ocean on the globe has been put in our hands, the ocean that is to bear the commerce of the Twentieth Century. In the face of this prospect shall we prefer, with the teeming population that century is to bring us, to remain a "hibernating nation, living off its own fat — a hermit nation," as Mr. Senator Davis has asked? For our first Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Hill, was right when he said that not to enter the open door in Asia means the perpetual isolation of this continent.

**Have they any Value?**

Are we to be discouraged by the cry that the new possessions are worthless? Not while we remember how often and under what circumstances we have heard that cry before. Half the public men of the period denounced Louisiana as worthless. Eminent statesmen made merry in Congress over the idea that Oregon or Washington could be of any use. Daniel Webster, in the most solemn and authoritative tones Massachusetts has ever employed, assured his fellow Senators that in his judgment California was not worth a dollar.

Is it said that the commercial opportunities in the Orient, or at least in the Philippines, are overrated? So it used to be said of the Sandwich Islands. But what does our experience show? Before their annexation even, but after we had taken this little archipelago under our protection and into our commercial system, our ocean tonnage in that trade became nearly double as heavy as with Great Britain. Why? Because while we have

lost the trade of the Atlantic, superior advantages make the Pacific ours. Is it said that elsewhere on the Pacific we can do as well without a controlling political influence as with it? Look again! Mexico buys our products at the rate of $1.95 for each inhabitant; South America at the rate of 90 cents; Great Britain at the rate of $13.42; Canada at the rate of $14, and the Hawaiian Islands at the rate of $53.35 for each inhabitant. Look at the trade of the chief city on the Pacific Coast. All Mexico and Central America, all the western parts of South America and of Canada, are as near to it as is Honolulu; and comparison of the little Sandwich Islands in population, with any of them, would be ridiculous. Yet none of them bought as much salmon in San Francisco as Hawaii, and no countries bought more save England and Australia. No countries bought as much barley, excepting Central America; and even in the staff of life, the California flour which all the world buys, only five countries outranked Hawaii in purchases in San Francisco.

No doubt a part of this result is due to the nearness of Hawaii to our markets, and her distance from any others capable of competing with us; and another part to a favorable system of reciprocity. Nevertheless, nobody doubts the advantage our dealers have derived in the promotion of trade, from controlling political relations and frequent intercourse. There are those who deny that "trade follows the flag," but even they admit that it leaves, if the flag does. And, independent of these advantages, and reckoning by mere distance, we still have the better of any European rivals in the Philippines. Now, assume that the Filipino would have far fewer wants than the Kanaka or his coolie laborer, and would do far less work for the means to gratify them. Admit, too, that, with "the open door," our political relations and frequent intercourse could have barely a fifth or a sixth of the effect there they have had in the Sandwich Islands. Roughly cast up even that result, and say whether it is a value which the United States should throw away as not worth considering!

And the greatest remains behind. For the trade in the Philippines will be but a drop in the bucket compared to that of China, for which they give us an unapproachable foothold. But let it never be forgotten that the confidence of Orientals goes only to those whom they recognize as strong enough and determined enough always to hold their own and protect their rights! The worst possible introduction for the Asiatic trade would be an irresolute abandonment of our foothold because

it was too much trouble to keep, or because some Malay and half-breed insurgents said they wanted us away.

The Future

Have you considered for whom we hold these advantages in trust? They belong not merely to the seventy-five millions now within our borders, but to all who are to extend the fortunes and preserve the virtues of the Republic in the coming century. Their number cannot increase in the startling ratio this century has shown — if they did the population of the United States a hundred years hence would be over twelve hundred millions. That ratio is impossible, but nobody gives reasons why we should not increase half as fast. Suppose we do actually increase only one-fourth as fast in the Twentieth Century as in the Nineteenth. To what height would not the three hundred millions of Americans whom even that ratio foretells bear up the seething industrial activities of the Continent! To what corner of the world would they not need to carry their commerce? What demands on tropical productions would they not make? What outlets for their adventurous youth would they not require? With such a prospect before us, who thinks that we should shrink from an enlargement of our National sphere because of the limitations that bound, or the dangers that threatened, before railroads, before ocean steamers, before telegraphs and ocean cables, before the enormous development of our manufactures, and the training of executive and organizing faculties in our people, on a constantly increasing scale for generations?

Does the prospect alarm? Is it said that our Nation is already too great; that all its magnificent growth only adds to the conflicting interests that must eventually tear it asunder? What cement then like that of a great common interest, beyond our borders, that touches not merely the conscience, but the pocket and the pride of all alike, and marshals us in the face of the world, standing for our own?

What then is the conclusion of the whole matter? Hold fast! Stand firm in the place where Providence has put you, and do the duty a just responsibility for your own past acts imposes. Support the army you sent there. Stop wasting valuable strength by showing how things might be different if something different had been done a year and a half ago. Use the educated thought of the country for shaping best its course now, instead of chiefly finding fault with its history. Bring the best hope of the future, the colleges and the generation they are

training, to exert the greatest influence and accomplish the most good by working intelligently in line with the patriotic aspirations and the inevitable tendencies of the American people, rather than against them. Unite the efforts of all men of good will to make the appointment of any person to these new and strange duties beyond seas impossible save for proved fitness, and his removal impossible save for cause. Rally the colleges and the churches, and all they influence, the brain and the conscience of the country, in a combined and irresistible demand for a genuine, trained and pure Civil Service in our new possessions, that shall put to shame our detractors, and show to the world the Americans of this generation, equal still to the work of civilization and colonization, and leading the development of the coming century as bravely as their Fathers led it in the last.

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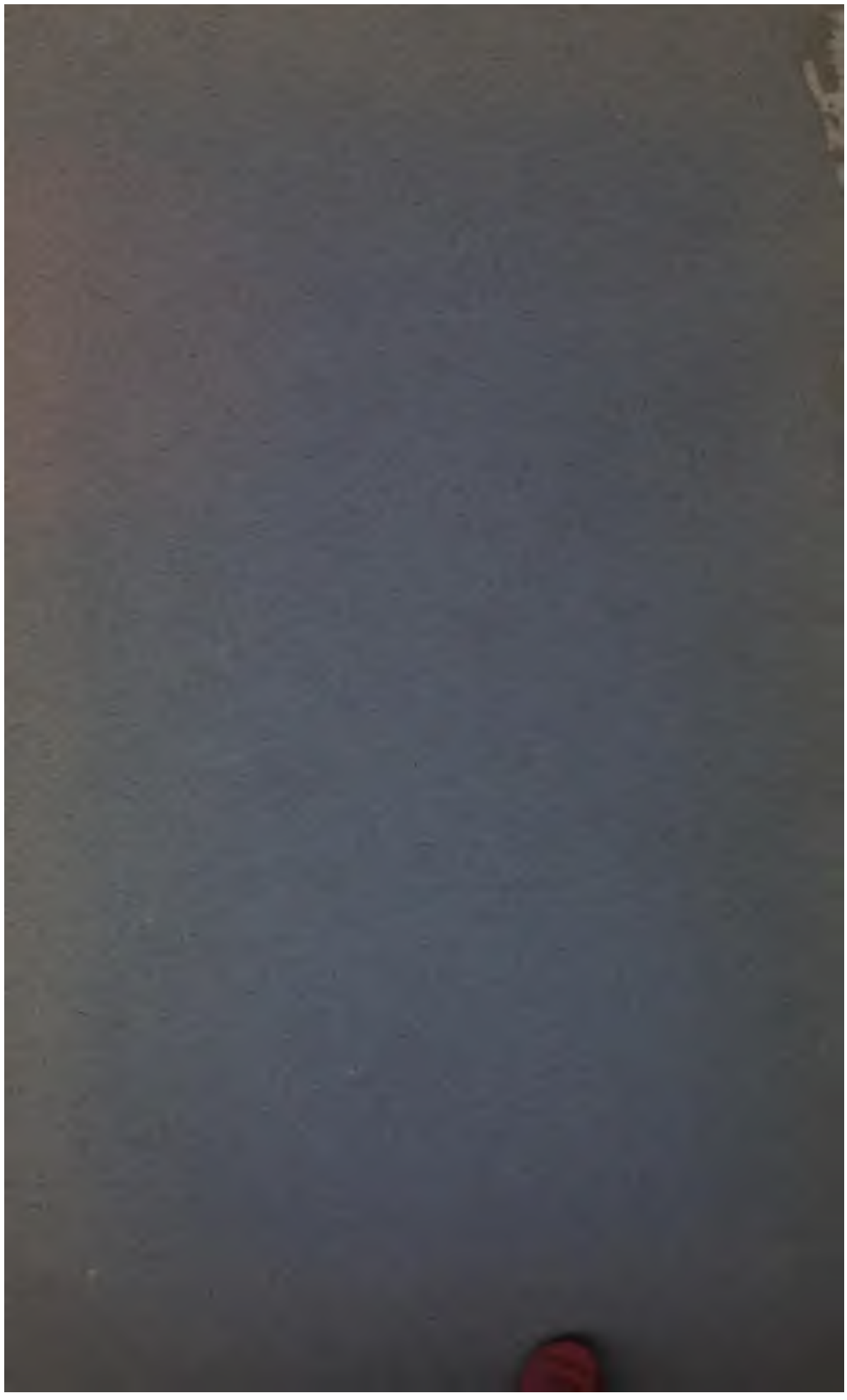
JOHN BRIGHT MEMORIAL SCHOOL,
LLANDUDNO, NORTH WALES.

OPENING ADDRESS, SEPTEMBER 25TH, 1907.

# THE "PRACTICAL SIDE" OF AMERICAN EDUCATION - - - - - -
# JOHN BRIGHT AND THE CIVIL WAR.

BY

WHITELAW REID.



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WHITELAW REID.

HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS,
LONDON, 1907.

## OPENING ADDRESS - - - - JOHN BRIGHT MEMORIAL SCHOOL.

The work you are inaugurating to-day looks at once backwards and forwards—it blends grateful appreciation for the past with the best provision in your power for the future.

By a happy thought you have converted your memorial for a great public servant into a nursery for efficiency and good citizenship in the rising generations. In consequence, a name which has heretofore stood only for a brilliant and useful public career, long since ended, will stand henceforth throughout this beautiful and historic Welsh country for an open door also to all in whom you can awaken the ambition and develop the ability to imitate or even to emulate that career; and John Bright will be thought of in this region which he loved not merely for the work he did for a generation that is gone, but as an ever present, ever active inspiration to those who are coming

forward from your younger ranks to solve the new problems of a new time. If only you can teach them here in this "John Bright School" to approach these new problems with the old honesty, the old conscience, and the old courage that have made the name memorable in your national annals, then are you, within your sphere, and to the limits of your influence, in very deed taking bond of fate.

It is not for me, the representative of another country—another but not an alien country, as you, sir, have kindly indicated—to venture on disputed points concerning your public men. But, so far as I have ever heard, there is no dispute among friends or foes about the character of John Bright. In fact, a remark once addressed to one of his colleagues always seems thought admirably fitted to Mr. Bright himself:—"We believe in no man's infallibility, but it is restful to be sure of one man's integrity." What better guarantee can you get for your community or for your country than youth trained up in that spirit and under the stimulus of such an example?

It is right that you should cherish his name in Llandudno. In his lifetime this was one of his favourite resorts, and he was one of your favourite visitors. Here he came for recreation and for quiet, familiar intercourse with his nearest friends, like the Cobdens. Here too he came when broken in health, after the storm and stress of public life, as in 1858, and again in 1870. Here again, he came to show his interest and take a part in your local affairs, as, for example, when he paid you a visit in order to lay the corner stone for an important elementary school.

It is right that the memorial of your great visitor, which you have so long had in contemplation, should finally take the form of a school for the wider development among you of the secondary education which he favoured. He was not, as you will remember, an unreserved advocate of compulsory education, or of exclusively State-paid education; but he was an earnest and constant supporter of education for all, on individual lines, undenominational lines—on what I might almost venture

before this friendly audience to call American lines.

It is peculiarly right then that your memorial should now be planned in considerable conformity with his own views as to the educational wants, in a country like this, of the serious industrial and commercial classes; right that it should look to the practical side of life, which in these days presses more and more upon all of us, and to a preparation for commercial and industrial pursuits quite as much as to a preparation for the Universities. Students from this school will no doubt make their way, with an eye on the professions, to the new Welsh College, of which the King so lately laid the corner stone, or, farther afield, to other and larger institutions of the higher learning. But not less useful in their sphere for the community which this school serves, and not less creditable to the school itself, will be those other students whom it turns towards the scientific and technological, as well as the commercial training, without which, the competition of modern industrial life must leave

the mass of your rising young men in the background, even at home, and still more abroad.

It has been intimated that it would be agreeable on this occasion to have some reference to the working of our American educational system on this practical side. But it has also been agreed that you shall not be longer detained from the remaining business of the afternoon by any words of mine for over ten minutes! Under these circumstances, like the heroine in the play, I do perceive here a divided duty. But I beg you not to be alarmed. I shall construe that duty liberally on the side of mercy! Let me mention only two or three points about the practical turn given a good deal of our American education since the Civil War, to which, we think, we can largely trace our phenomenal material progress since that date.

We did not lose sight, I hope, even under the strain of that crisis, any more than you ever have lost sight of the great truth that the

ultimate object of the best education is now and forever must be, not so much to teach facts or even ideas as to make character. But the circumstances of our people rendered it essential that, for the most of our youth, before or at the same time that we taught them to make character we should teach them to make a living.

Nine men out of ten in this audience, or in any audience in Great Britain, if asked to name the greatest two leaders in all American history, would answer without hesitation, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Both looked to education as a vital necessity for a free people. But the different points of view from which they regarded it bear significant testimony to the popular uplift in the Republic as it trod its toilsome way from the Revolutionary War to the Civil War.

Washington in his last Will and Testament outlined and tried to provide for a National University, to which "the youths of fortune and talents might be sent from all parts of the country, for the completion of their education

in all the branches of polite literature, in the arts and sciences, and in the principles of politics and good government." By Lincoln's time the necessity specially felt, at least as to National assistance, was somewhat different. In the darkest days of the Civil War he put his name to a law making unprecedented appropriations for educational purposes. Under this law secondary education had a new birth, and the great system of State Universities was developed, in order—to quote its exact words—"to promote the liberal and practical education *of the industrial classes.*"

The line this movement has taken you all know, or can readily imagine. As might be expected, one of the new University studies first brought to the front was Agricultural Chemistry. Then came most other forms of this modern miracle-working science; then Mining Engineering, Civil Engineering, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering. But before any of these must come a solid foundation, laid largely in the secondary schools, in mathematics, physics and mechanical drawing,

rounded out by selections from a list in which civics, economics and commercial law are leading subjects.

Let me hasten at once to disclaim any pretence that we originated this system of developing science for the industrial arts, and educating our youth specially for occupations dependent on scientific training. We owe that, as we owe so many things, to you. The first suggestion for it, over two centuries ago, came from the Marquis of Worcester. If we can claim priority in any way in the matter, it might be perhaps in an earlier and wider action on his lesson. The general course of our people in applying the system to their condition and wants may be gathered from the latest comparative statistics now accessible to me. These as tabulated by the National Commissioner of Education, show that out of a million students then in our secondary schools, 306,000 studied algebra; 274,000, Latin; 147,000, geometry; 113,000, physics; 47,000, chemistry; and only 25,000 Greek.

Not to weary you further with mere figures,

let me explain in a general way that these secondary schools and universities are maintained, partly by State taxation, partly by National endowments, partly by gifts from public-spirited citizens, and partly, in the universities, by fees from pupils. In most of the States, the taxation for the free school system, generally including secondary schools, is larger than for any other one object in the annual budget. Let me add that it is voted by the legislators with greater liberality and less cheese-paring than any other item in the budget, and is paid with greater cordiality by the taxpayers—if it can ever be truthfully said that any tax anywhere is cordially paid! In the Nation the largest gifts from the public domain, after a few to vital railroads and after homesteads to actual settlers on the frontier, have been for State Universities. As to gifts from private citizens, two men, whose names are perfectly known to you all, have given four educational enterprises alone over forty millions of dollars (£8,000,000), Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller. A third,

whose name is probably less known to you than it deserves to be, since he was one of the little group of courageous and far-seeing Californians who risked their fortunes and exhausted their lives in binding the Pacific coast to the Atlantic with bonds of steel, Governor Leland Stanford, gave to a single University practically his whole estate. It is still in liquidation, but enough has been already collected to make sure that the University will receive over thirty million dollars, and may receive over forty millions, say six to eight million pounds. Nor do these men stand alone, although they are in the front rank. Merely in the ten years ending with 1902, the last decade which I have seen thus tabulated, similar gifts from public-spirited private citizens amounted to a hundred and fifteen millions of dollars (£23,000,000).

If you now ask to what extent the people use and prize the educational facilities provided with this public and private munificence, let me merely mention in reply, that in the single State of New York, according to the latest

accessible returns, the average daily attendance in the primary schools was 76 per cent. of all the enrolled youth in the State, while 95,000 were in the secondary schools. In the country at large, accurate statistics of very late date are not so easy to get in tabulated form; but it is fair to say that of the eighty or eighty-five millions of population in this year of grace, nearly one-fourth are now at school.

Not an instant farther shall I presume on the invitation to speak about the practical side of American education. Let me close with a few words on a subject closer to the occasion.

It is a hackneyed remark that Republics are ungrateful. Perhaps a kinder way of saying the same thing would be that the Republic expects every man always and everywhere to do his duty, and does not therefore make much fuss about it. Whether or not that is actual ingratitude, it certainly does not imply that the Republic is unmindful. We have short memories no doubt for those who at

critical moments may have inadvertently, or even wilfully, impeded our way. It is often the highest wisdom as well as the sincerest friendship to forget. But of one thing you may be very sure—the American memory is a long one and a warm one for those who were our friends when we needed friends.

We had multitudes of them in Great Britain and Ireland during our Civil War. Your Lancashire operatives, starving for cotton, were still on our side. Your free laboring men everywhere cheered our struggle for free labor. Before the end, the great majority of the people throughout the United Kingdom were with us. We are always proud to call over the names of some of their intellectual and political leaders. Take first a member of the Ministry of the day, *clarum et venerabile nomen*—the Duke of Argyll. Follow that with John Stuart Mill, and Richard Cobden, and William E. Forster, and Thomas Hughes, who will be better known to every boy in this school as he is to well nigh every schoolboy in the United Kingdom, as Tom Brown of Rugby. Follow

these with Herbert Spencer, Goldwin Smith, Charles Darwin, Thorold Rogers, Professor Cairns, and many another.

But I do no injustice to your great Statesmen, your great men of science, or of letters, or of the press, when I say that the name of John Bright led all the rest. From the beginning to the end his voice rang out to us across the Atlantic, sometimes in cheer, sometimes in warning, always in friendship and in hope. His speeches in our behalf were reported throughout the United States almost as in London. At a dark moment they were collected into a volume and widely circulated. We knew, as the world knew, that there was then no more eloquent voice in British councils, or using our noble English tongue, and that voice was always for us. Merely as showing its constant note, let me quote just one sentence from his address to the skilled laborers he was marshalling on our side at a great meeting in London in that year of gloom, 1863:—

"Impartial history will tell that when . . . the fate

of a continent and its vast population was in peril, you clung to freedom with an unfaltering trust that God, in his infinite mercy, will yet make it the heritage of all his children."

May I read to you a few lines only from another speech, the one he delivered in Birmingham, when the cotton famine was approaching its worst :—

"The leaders of this revolt propose this monstrous thing—that over a territory forty times as large as England, the blight and curse of slavery shall be forever perpetuated.

"I cannot believe for my part that such a fate will befall that fair land, stricken though it now is with the ravages of war. I cannot believe that civilisation, in its journey with the sun, will sink into endless night in order to gratify the ambition of the leaders of this revolt, who seek to

'Wade through slaughter to a throne,
And shut the gates of mercy on mankind.'

I have another and a far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be but a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in an unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main,—and I see one people, and one language, and one law, and one faith, and, over all that wide continent, the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime."

Prophet and Seer! the vision of 1862 was already history before that century closed.

Perhaps now, just once more, I may venture

to read to you a single sentence. It is the inscription with which my distinguished predecessor in New York, Horace Greeley, began the best of the early histories of the American Conflict :—

> "To John Bright, British Commoner and Christian statesman, the friend of my country because the friend of mankind, this record of a Nation's struggle up from darkness and bondage to light and liberty is regardfully, gratefully inscribed."

That speaks the feeling of the Nation then and its feeling now. I should have been unworthy to represent such a people if I had not hastened to obey the summons with which you honoured me, and to utter these few words, however feeble and inadequate, at this inauguration of your most appropriate Welsh Memorial for John Bright.

# APPENDIX.

## PROCEEDINGS AT THE OPENING OF THE JOHN BRIGHT MEMORIAL SCHOOL, LLANDUDNO, NORTH WALES.

*From the* LIVERPOOL POST, *26th September*, 1907.

An interesting event at Llandudno yesterday was the formal opening of the new Intermediate School, which is dedicated to the memory of the late John Bright. The ceremony was charmingly performed by the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James, the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, who travelled down specially from London for the purpose. From London to Chester his special saloon carriage, provided for him by the London and North-Western Railway Company, was attached to the Irish mail train. At Chester it was detached, and coupled to the South Carnarvonshire express, which was specially stopped at Llandudno Junction in order that the saloon might be sent on the branch line to its destination.

The Chairman of the Intermediate School Governors (Mr. J. Allanson Picton) and the Clerk (Mr. James Marks) boarded the special saloon carriage at Llandudno Junction, and accompanied his Excellency to Llandudno, they having with them Mrs. and Miss Picton. On the platform at Llandudno were assembled the Chairman and members of the Llandudno Urban District Council, Lord Mostyn, the Hon. Edward Mostyn, Mr. A. Conolly (Town Clerk), and others, and when Mr. Whitelaw Reid alighted Mr. Picton presented to him Mr. S. Chantrey (Chairman of the Council), and others.

Mr. Chantrey then, on behalf of the Urban District Council and the inhabitants generally, very heartily

welcomed the Ambassador to Llandudno, and stated that they were all proud that the town had been honoured with such a distinguished visitor, especially as he represented a great country, many thousands of the citizens of which visited Llandudno annually. (Applause.) The Chairman handed to Mr. Whitelaw Reid an album, containing an illuminated address from the Council, and various views of the town and neighbourhood. The address, as read by the Chairman of the Council, is as follows :—

*To His Excellency The Honourable* WHITELAW REID, *United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James.*

SIR—

The Urban District Council of the Town of Llandudno on behalf of the Inhabitants, desire to tender to you a most hearty welcome on this your first visit to Gwynedd. The Council sincerely thank you for the honour you are conferring in consenting to open the new County Schools, which are designed to give a liberal Secondary Education to Boys and Girls, and they hope and believe that the establishment of the Schools will prove of lasting benefit to this portion of the County.

They rejoice in the happy circumstance that it is in the cause of educational progress that you, the illustrious representative of a great Republic occupying a foremost position in the world of Education, now visit Llandudno.

The Council delight in the opportunity of expressing their great regard for the American people, and they trust that the bond of friendship which exists between the United States and the British Empire may grow in strength as years roll by.

Given under the Common Seal of the Urban District Council of Llandudno, this 25th day of September, 1907.

(Signed) S. CHANTREY, Chairman.
ALFRED CONOLLY, Clerk.

The Ambassador, in reply, said :—You do me a great and unexpected honour, and I thank you heartily for it. I am perfectly aware that it is an honour which comes to me in my representative capacity, to which you allude, and for that I thank you all the more. I represent a country which looks back to this for the origin of its institutions, and in large part it traces its blood lineage to these islands too. (Applause.) We are extremely glad that the relations between the two countries show increasing friendliness—I was almost going to say from one generation to another, but certainly for many years now—from year to year. (Applause.) So far as I know there is not a particle of friction between us, at this moment, on any subject whatever. I value this kind appreciation which you have given of the presence of the American representative here, for the very reason that it shows a feeling on your part towards my country, which I can assure you is most cordially reciprocated on the other side of the water. (Applause.)

Accompanied by Lord Mostyn, the Hon. Edward Mostyn, and Mr. Chantrey, his Excellency then drove to the Imperial Hotel, where he remained until the hour fixed for the opening of the School.

The route to the School was gaily decorated, and a large gathering of members of the various local authorities, the parents of scholars in the School, and other ladies and gentlemen had taken place in the vicinity of the building. On the arrival of the Ambassador, a short religious service was conducted outside the main entrance, prayer being offered by the Rector of Llandudno (the Rev. Ll. R. Hughes), and portions of Scripture being read in English and Welsh by the Rev. David Davies, Welsh Baptist minister, these gentlemen being both members of the School Governors. The Ambassador was received by Mr. Picton and his colleagues, and Mr. Picton introduced the architect, Mr. G. A. Humphreys, and the builder, Mr. Henry Hughes. The latter presented to Mr. Whitelaw Reid a gold key, with which his Excellency opened the door. He then declared the Conway with Llandudno John Bright

Memorial County School opened for its beneficent purpose. Amid loud cheers the Ambassador and the party passed into the building, while the spectators trooped into the school hall by the side entrances. Within the entrance hall the Chairman introduced the governors, the head master (Mr. J. M. Archer Thomson), and the senior mistress (Miss Fleet) to his Excellency, who a few minutes later was conducted to his seat at the right of the Chairman (Mr. Picton) on the platform in the school hall, whence the speeches were delivered. On the left of the Chairman was the Lord-Lieutenant of the county (Mr. J. E. Greaves), and others on the platform were Lord Mostyn, Judge Bryn Roberts, Mr. John Albert Bright, M.P., son of the late John Bright, Mr. Ellis Jones Griffith, M.P., the Mayor of Conway (Dr. R. Arthur Prichard), the Chairman of the Llandudno District Council (Mr. Chantrey), Professor Anwyl (Chairman of the Central Welsh Board), Mr. Archer Thomson (head master), Mr. James Marks (clerk), Mr. John Owen (Avallon), Mr. W. Bevan (Chairman of the Conway School District Managers), the Rector of Llandudno, the Rev. D. Davies, and others.

The Chairman, in his opening address, indicated to the Ambassador the representative nature of the assembly, and said that they were not ignorant of the achievements Mr. Whitelaw Reid had wrought in journalism, and in the promotion of higher education before he became a living bond of friendship between two mighty modern nations (applause) and the representative of the greatest Republic the world had ever known, a great country whose varied fortunes had been watched here, by the older of us, sometimes with a little anxiety, but whose magnificent progress had baffled all prophecy. (Cheers.) The Chairman explained how the School came to be called after John Bright. At the beginning of the enterprise of providing a county school for the district it was found that there was a fund raised to perpetuate the memory of the late illustrious statesman at Llandudno, where he was so well known, and it was thought that if his name could be connected with the county school the money would be given to an object which would have been dear to his heart. The suggestion

was gladly accepted, and the result was that the money was handed over to the trust, on condition that the School should be called the John Bright County School, which it would be from that time forth. (Applause.)

The Ambassador, amidst cheers, then unveiled two tablets engraved with inscriptions, the one in Welsh and the other in English, with the name of the School and the date of the opening. After a few introductory words from the Chairman, he next proceeded to deliver his address. It was received with frequent manifestations of approval, the applause sometimes punctuating almost every sentence. At its close, a vote of thanks to the Ambassador was proposed by Mr. J. E. Greaves, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, and seconded by Lord Mostyn, both of whom made cordial and eulogistic speeches.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Ellis Griffith, M.P., and Mr. J. A. Bright, M.P. The latter said that he had been touched by the references to his late father which Mr. Whitelaw Reid had made. The time of the great conflict between North and South was well within his memory, and he recollected that while the working people of this country and part of the middle classes were strongly in favour of the North, the upper classes were largely in favour of the South. At the school where he was educated there were two American boys, and they, of course, were supporters of the North, but he (Mr. Bright) was the only other boy in the school who took that side. (Applause.) His father first came to Llandudno in the year 1856 or 7, but from that time he came regularly, and became greatly attached to the neighbourhood, forming many friendships among the humbler people. (Applause.) He (Mr. J. A. Bright) felt a certain amount of regret that the little town he knew in those days had now become a great, bustling place, but, of course, many people—Lord Mostyn, for instance—would not sympathise with him in that sentimental remark. (Laughter and applause.)

The resolution was carried with much cordiality, and Mr. Whitelaw Reid briefly replied.

Colonel Charles H. Darbyshire, Penmaenmawr, proposed a resolution wishing prosperity to the School. In the course

of his speech he said that a debt of £4,000 remained upon the building. He hoped that all friends of the School who had not subscribed would at once do so. He handed to the Chairman an extra contribution of £100 from himself.—The Chairman announced the gift amidst cheers.—The Rector seconded the motion, which was supported by Professor Anwyl, and carried.

The Chairman announced that the Governors had decided to mark their sense of the honour of the Ambassador's presence, and decided that July 4 in every year should be a half-holiday at the School. This remark was much applauded, especially in the gallery, where the pupils were assembled.

Further votes of thanks were passed, and the proceedings concluded.

Afterwards the Ambassador was taken by Lord Mostyn in his motor-car along the Mostyn Broadway to Craig-y-don, and round the Marine-drive. Subsequently the motor-car proceeded to Mostyn Hall, Flintshire, where the Ambassador remained for the night as Lord Mostyn's guest, and where it is expected that he will remain until the arrival of the "Lusitania," upon which vessel his daughter is returning to this country.

The promenade at Llandudno was last night brilliantly illuminated with fairy lamps, lanterns, &c., in honour of the Ambassador's visit.

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LUTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.
ANNUAL DINNER, APRIL 10TH, 1908.

Oxford University Library
JUN 15 1908

# THE STORY OF SAN FRANCISCO FOR ENGLISH EARS.

BY

WHITELAW REID.

[The Luton Chamber of Commerce attempted to make the American Ambassador its chief guest at its first annual dinner after his settlement at Wrest Park, as his country residence, only nine miles away. When this was found impossible, he was asked for the next year; and then for the next, and this time was asked to name his own date.

The dinner was held on the evening of April 10th, 1908, in the Town Hall of Luton, under the Presidency of Andrew Carruthers, Esq., J.P. Among those seated with him at the Guests' table were (besides the Ambassador) the member of the House of Commons for the District, T. G. Ashton, Esq., M.P., a brother-in-law of the British Ambassador to the United States; His Worship the Mayor, Councillor H. Arnold; G. Elliott, Esq., of the London Bar, born in Luton, and others. The loyal toasts were proposed briefly by the President, and enthusiastically received. Mr. Austin proposed and Captain Green responded for the Imperial Forces.

Then Mr. Ashton, M.P., in eulogistic terms, proposed the health of their Guest, the American Ambassador, spoke of his friendship for him for his brother-in-law's sake, and of the special interest they all felt in him as their Bedfordshire neighbour, and then dwelt on the increasing intimacy of the friendly relations between the two countries and the reasons for it. Mr. Reid's response was received with continuous applause, and, at its close, on the initiative of the Vice-President of the Chamber, three hearty cheers were given for him and one more for San Francisco.

After this came the Luton Chamber of Commerce, proposed by Mr. Elliott and responded to by the President of the Chamber, Mr. Carruthers, and the Secretary, Mr. T. Keens; the Town and Trades of Luton, proposed by Mr. Gautschi and responded to by His Worship the Mayor, and by G. Warren, Esq.; and finally, the Visitors, proposed by the Vice-President, Mr. Staddon, and responded to by Horace Slade, Esq.]

## ADDRESS AT LUTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

I must thank you very heartily for the great kindness of this welcome and also for the persistent courtesy with which you have for three years renewed your invitation. You must excuse such apparent reluctance to accept your hospitality. It has really not been my fault, though it does seem droll that while it is impossible for me to get around Luton in the morning, it should have proved equally impossible to get here in the evening!

Of course, your invitations have been due to the fact that I have the honour to represent a great country, with which you have intimate relations, and in the development of which I venture to think that you take some pride, as you have a right to. But, perhaps, I may claim some share of the persistency with which you have invited me, and of the great cordiality you have shown to-night, as due to the fact, so kindly alluded to by Mr. Ashton, your honoured

Member of Parliament, that you know me not merely as the American Ambassador, but also as your Bedfordshire neighbour. That thought adds a welcome personal touch to your reception. In fact, it has been gratifying to see from the first how ready Luton was to adopt me into the neighbourhood community. I begin to feel as if I know the town quite well in all its multiform activities. I know intimately, from one point of view at least, its football clubs, its cricket clubs, its police cricket club, its reading rooms, its flower shows, its sea-shore trips for the little folks, its hospital, its church repairs and its educational schemes. Then there is another feature, the most interesting of all. I know there is no dreaded "race suicide" in progress here! Every motor driver gets conclusive proof of that as he climbs the long, steep, crooked, beautiful, dreadful street that lets him out of Luton towards London. Children grow out of the very macadam there; you are in deadly terror at every turn lest one should suddenly sprout up under your wheels; you groan over their joyous, irrepressible,

fiendish ambition to be "the last over," of which there is still a little survival in spite of many a police admonition that we know of, and in spite also, as one sometimes hopes, of an occasional and affectionate but efficient parental spanking. Help send them to the sea-shore? Bless their dear hearts, yes—twice as many as were sent there last summer!

Well, gentlemen, though thus amiably adopted into the circle of your neighbourhood interests and amusements—and anxieties!—I must confess to a disgraceful ignorance of the straw goods industry. Not of its importance, mind you; no man who looks at this bustling, enterprising, prosperous town of forty thousand inhabitants can have any doubt of that. So convinced am I of the importance of straw goods that I am almost ready to doubt the universal applicability of the Scripture maxim about its being better to lay your foundations on a rock. For this particular locality I suspect it was better to lay them on straw—a fact tending to encourage the irreverent remark by my distinguished predecessor and friend,

Mr. Lowell, in the Biglow papers, that "they didn't know everything, down in Judee."

But still, though an absolute believer, as you see, in the solidity of straw, I can't tell you anything about the straw business. I'm afraid you don't send as much straw to the United States as you are ready and willing to sell us. The fact is, I suppose, that we raise straw ourselves? But one thing I know—your good business in straw is useful to us; just as our good business in anything is useful to you. The more we prosper the better for you. The more Great Britain prospers, the better for the United States.

Now, since I can't really tell you anything about your own business, I've been wondering if you would not be interested in hearing about one particular piece of ours; a disaster so sudden and appalling that it chained the attention of the whole world, and a recovery so amazing as to deserve even greater attention. I returned a few weeks ago from San Francisco, having spent the time given me by my Government for rest and recreation, American fashion,

in a twelve thousand mile journey. I know San Francisco well, but had not seen it since a year or two before the earthquake. You will recall the condition in which that frightful catastrophe left the fascinating city of near half-a-million souls at the entrance of the Golden Gate. Multitudes of its buildings were thrown down by successive shocks of the severest earthquake known on the coast. They shook all the lowland like a jelly, tore apart the strongest stone walls, twisted about the very tramways, split open the stone pavements and the earth below them, wrecked the water system, and turned the whole population into the streets. Then the houses the earthquake had spared burned down steadily through four awful days and nights, while the inhabitants looked on in almost dumb helplessness, having nothing left but fire with which to fight the fire. There were four and three-quarter square miles burned over—roughly speaking, a territory greater than the whole areas of the great fires in Chicago, Boston, and Baltimore combined. The mere insurance in the burnt district amounted to

235 million dollars, say, 47 million pounds; while, of course, many buildings were insured to only a tithe of their value, and others, including some of the largest and costliest, not at all.

Immense numbers of the people had to leave at once for lack of shelter and food,—at first for lack even of water. Then came weary months of waiting to realize on securities, to collect insurance, negotiate loans, and persuade the outside world that the spot was not doomed, that San Francisco was not to be henceforth as dead as Nineveh and Tyre. After that came scarcity of building material, scarcity of labor, impossible prices, questions of public health, and all the other disadvantages you can readily imagine.

Well, twenty-two months had elapsed since that fatal morning when the inhabitants were roused from slumber to find their strongest buildings tumbling on their heads or swinging to and fro in the upper air like gigantic clock pendulums, turned upside down. The first impression, as I passed through the familiar

streets, was that even then, in many quarters, they were just beginning to clear away the debris. At every turn were yawning cellars, filled with twisted iron beams, inextricably entangled with each other, and with masses of fallen masonry. But beside them would be fine brick or stone structures, already boiling with business, and others at first glance looking ready for it, though little but the exterior shell was finished. Then everywhere loomed against the blue, steel-like brilliancy of the California sky the skeletons of buildings, huge frameworks of iron posts and girders, bolted together, eight and ten and twelve storeys high, with marvellous and splendid human monkeys at the top, swinging still more iron beams into place, for still more storeys, and filling the upper air with the deafening clangor of hammered rivets and bolts. The pavements were blockaded with building materials; the streets were jammed with struggling trucks; the very passengers in the tramways carried the tools of their trade and were covered with mortar. Everybody was in a rush. The town that had been

growing feverishly enough through sixty years was being rebuilt in two. Ten thousand permanent buildings had either been completed or were well advanced in construction since the fire, at an outlay of about one hundred millions of dollars. One third of the structures destroyed by the earthquake and fire had been replaced, and on a scale so much grander that the floor space in this third practically equals the whole floor space destroyed.

After this wholly inadequate description of the scene, you will not need to be told that your sister Chamber of Commerce out there reports that the people are doing business again. Sometimes they do it in shanties, while their new palaces are being finished; sometimes they do it on desks made of boards laid across the ends of cement barrels, in unfinished rooms where the carpenters are hanging doors and the painters are working on the windows—happy if only the plasterers have been ejected. But one way or another they are doing business—doing it to such an extent that in the December after the fire the San Francisco

bank clearings were one hundred and ninety-six million dollars—over thirty millions more than in the December before the fire. Of course, this amount was swelled by the insurance receipts; but a year later it had risen to one hundred and ninety-nine millions. By September, 1907, the savings banks deposits, perhaps a surer test, had grown to one hundred and fifty-seven million dollars, and the deposits in State and National Banks to one hundred and seventy-three million dollars more.

But there is something more striking than either the earthquake or the fire, or this amazing recovery from both. It is the spirit in which those indomitable San Franciscans fronted the disaster and surmounted it. Every man who went through that awful fortnight will tell you that the stricken and desolate people met their calamity with courage, and even with absolute gaiety. Men laughed when they told you that they hadn't a roof over their families or a change of clothing for themselves, and didn't know where the next meal was to come from. Not a man whimpered. Not a

man spoke of anything but going to work in the quickest and surest way to replace what was lost. The millionaire and the day labourer were on an absolute equality, and they took their hard lot with equal courage and cheerfulness.

There are many things in the history of his country of which an American is intensely proud. But I protest that among them all there has been nothing in the forty odd years since the greatest civil war of modern times ended without the sacrifice of a single human life in punishment, and since the victorious army of a million men, and the depleted but still formidable defeated army, melted alike into the peaceful community as quietly as an untimely sprinkling of snow on a spring morning—there has been nothing in all our history since those marvellous days of which we have more right to be proud than of San Francisco in the earthquake and San Francisco to-day.

Only one thing more. I have told what I myself recently saw and heard on the spot to

this company of English merchants because I believed you would be pleased and proud over it too! That is the nature of our common stock! God spare you the need of proving it; but if the necessity ever came, we all know that on this side the Atlantic that stock would bear itself with like courage and like unconquerable, inextinguishable hope.

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LONDON COMMEMORATIONS.

Winter of 1908–9.

Stanford Univer
MAY
11
1909

# REMARKS BY THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR

— AT —

THE POE CENTENARY,
Authors' Club, March 1st (for Jan. 19th), 1909.

THE BACON TERCENTENARY,
Gray's Inn, Oct. 17th, 1908.

THE MILTON TERCENTENARY,
Mansion House, Dec. 9th, 1908.

THE WASHINGTON ANNIVERSARY,
London Section, U.S. Navy League, Feb. 22nd, 1909.

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(9)

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HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS,
LONDON, 1909.

# THE POE CENTENARY.

AUTHORS' CLUB, March 1st (for Jan. 19th), 1909.

*From* THE LONDON TIMES, *March* 2.

Under the auspices of the Authors' Club a dinner was given last night at the Hotel Métropole in memory of Edgar Allan Poe. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle presided, having on his immediate right and left Mr. Whitelaw Reid, the guest, and Mrs. Humphry Ward; and among the company, which numbered about 250, were Admiral Charles H. Stockton (American delegate to the Naval Conference), Mr. J. Ridgely Carter, Secretary to the American Embassy, Captain Poe, Mr. Humphry Ward, Mrs. George Cornwallis West, Mr. E. Marshall Fox, Mr. Herbert Trench, Mr. Douglas Freshfield, Mr. G. Herbert Thring (Secretary of the Incorporated Society of Authors) and Mrs. Thring, Mr. Newton Crane, Mr. F. C. Van Duzer (Secretary of the American Society in London), Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Gosse, Mr. R. N. Fairbanks and Mrs. Fairbanks (President of the Society of American Women in London), Sir Arthur and Lady Trendell, the Rev. Henry C. de Lafontaine, the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Felkin ("Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler"), Lady Abinger, Lady Lister Kaye, Mr. and Mrs. Reginald Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Dashwood, Mr. A. Laurence Felkin, Mr. Robert J. Wynne (Consul-General, U.S.A.), Mr. J. Arthur Barratt, Mr. Isaac N. Ford, Mr. G. J. Codrington Ball and Mrs. Ball (*née* Poe), Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Webster Glynes and Mrs. Glynes ("Ella Dietz"), Mr. W. Archer, Mr. E. Price Bell, Mr. George A. Mower, Mr. Thomas L. Feild

(President American Society in London) and Mrs. Feild, Mr. Edward Morton, Mr. J. T. Grein, Dr. Ashley Bird, Dr. G. E. Herman, Mr. Francis Gribble, Commander Claud Harding, Mr. John H. Ingram, Mr. Ernest Brain, Mr. J. Newton Beach, Dr. F. Hewitt, Mr. Sidney Low and Mrs. Low, Mr. Kingsley Conan Doyle, Sir John and Lady Brickwood, Captain Acheson, Mr. Franklin Lieber, Mr. Harold Hartley, Mr. James Purefoy Poe, Mr. T. Cato Worsfold, Mr. Charles Garvice (Chairman of Committee) and Mrs. Garvice, Mr. Algernon and Mrs. Rose, Dr. Bernard Hollander, Mr. Duncan Irvine (Secretary of the Arts Club), Dr. P. W. Ames (Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature), Mr. Robert Machray, Mr. Henry Longman, Dr. S. Stephenson, Mr. St. John Lucas, Mr. Morley Roberts, Mr. Horace Wyndham, Dr. E. Law, Sir Bruce and Lady Seton, Mr. Percy White, Mr. Albert Gray, K.C., Dr. Stanton Coit, Mr. John Lane and Mrs. Lane, Mr. B. Van Praagh, and Dr. J. Todhunter. In the recess at the rear of the chairman was an enlargement of a medallion portrait of Poe, executed by Mr. Albert Bruce Joy, supported by the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes. The tables and walls were decorated with American and British emblems, and at the top of the table, in front of the chairman, was the American eagle. The work of organizing the celebration entailed much labor and correspondence, the greater part of which devolved upon Mr. Algernon Rose, the honorary secretary of the Club, who is to be congratulated on the success which attended the occasion. Mr. Whitelaw Reid, who was cordially greeted, said :—

It is quite true that my countrymen ought to have the first interest in the very noteworthy centenary you celebrate. But this is far from implying that their official representative in this country is at all entitled to the place your partiality has assigned him; or that America

in general has shown adequate appreciation in the past for this son of hers whose memory you have met to honor.

The celebration to-night is a little late, for reasons well known and quite sufficient—over a month after the actual date, a hundred years ago, on which Edgar Allan Poe entered upon his troubled life. The fact itself is quite in keeping with his career. Everything came to him too late, in life as in death, especially in his own country. Even when good fortune seemed ready to press itself upon him more than once during his life, his temperamental waywardness, heedlessness, irresponsibility, kept him from appreciating the opportunity until too late. Now, long after his unhappy death, and long after your English and French literary tribunals have accepted him as one of the immortals, his countrymen yet wait, even beyond the century, still hesitating to place him with their other literary figures, some surely far smaller, in their Hall of Fame.

Few of them indeed would to-day go so far in his honor as do some of your British authorities. They would pause, for instance, at the decision of one that "Poe is the most interesting figure in American literature"; and they would be almost startled at the further dictum that "few English writers of the nineteenth century are likely to have a more enduring fame." Americans confronted with that verdict would be apt to recall the great Georgian and Victorian roll of English writers, and would then reflect that they had themselves a writer named Nathaniel Hawthorne, and another named Ralph Waldo Emerson, and another named Benjamin Franklin. In fact, my countrymen for once have been slow (laughter), unusually slow, to think well of the native American product. There is still a higher estimate of this one American writer by England and France than has been conceded even yet, in his own land. His genius, so promptly and generously recognized abroad, is of course no longer

questioned. But we take pains to remember that it ran within certain narrow and sharply defined channels; that it frequently failed to reach the highest and best human emotions: that it was often morbid and sometimes repulsive.

Yet, with all abatements, Poe's place was surely in the front rank, if not at the very head, among the world's tellers of short stories. (Cheers.) Who has since given us, in such perfect English, the indefinable mystery and the shuddering sense of implacable fate, pervading air, earth and sky, lake and forest, house and people, which we all recall whenever we think of "The Fall of the House of Usher"? Where has the fiendish perfection of revenge been presented more powerfully or more briefly, or with more artistic reserve than in "The Cask of Amontillado"? Nay, gentlemen, may I venture to ask in this presence, and in view of the generous reference already made to the subject by the chairman, who was the

legitimate and inspired forerunner of the immortal Sherlock Holmes himself, if not the author of "The Murders in the Rue Morgue"? (Laughter.) And who pointed the way to "Treasure Island" if not the author of "The Gold Bug"? Where indeed are the "Tales of the Arabesque and the Grotesque" to be surpassed in their own field in the literature of America, or of England, or of France, or of the world? (Cheers.)

But when his poetry is mentioned, some of you who may have coincided tolerably thus far with what I have been saying will surely dissent. I am not able to think Poe's place in poetry so high or so secure as his place in the telling of short stories. I admit, at once, the incomparable rhythm, the mastery of the wonderful music that may be married to English verse, the sad, haunting tenderness, melody and mystery. The technique of Poe's poetry is perfection. The general American public, more generous to him here than in any other feature of his work or his life, would

probably put "Annabel Lee," "The Raven," and "Lenore" among the finest poems, perhaps would pronounce them the very finest, in the literature of the New World; while a judicious few would surely place beside them "To Helen," "Israfil," "Ulalume," and some others.

Yet, perfect as they are of their kind, they still seem to me to lack the highest poetic merit—the soul is not in them. How could it be? Here is a man of rare genius who enters the poetical field with the avowed and serious belief that a long poem cannot exist; that the epic is a mania, and the didactic a heresy; that the truth has no sympathy with the myrtles; that, in fact, poetry must be solely and exclusively the rhythmical creation of beauty: that with the intellect or conscience it has only collateral relations, and no concern whatever either with duty or with truth. Do not think I am misrepresenting him. These are his own expressions, not from some mad extravaganza of his unhappier hours, but from his soberest and most deliberate effort to define the nature of the poetic art. On such a con-

ception how could the uttermost heights be attained? Not so was born the immortal poetry that reverberated through the organ notes of Milton. On no such theory of poetic limitations were conceived the sonnets and plays, touching human nature with infallible truth at a thousand points, by the myriad-minded Shakespeare. Far different was the inspiration of the great Georgian poet who wrote the "Ode to Duty"—"stern daughter of the Voice of God," or of that supreme master of the didactic *and* the beautiful, the author of "In Memoriam." Far different indeed the inspiration of that later gallant spirit who from his bed of constant pain set the soul of an empire to verse in "What have I done for you, England, my England?" (cheers): or of that other (of whom Mark Twain finely said at Oxford that his fame envelops the world like an atmosphere), who put the heart's prayer of that empire on a great occasion into words in his "God of our fathers, known of old, Lord of our far-flung battle-line." (Cheers.)

There have been Americans, too, who thought poetry might relate to truth and duty and country; and broke the withes in which Poe sought to bind it. I spare you a multitude of examples, from the "Concord Hymn" and the "Building of the Ship," and the "Song of the Camp" and the "Chambered Nautilus," and the "Harvard Commemoration Ode," and the stirring lyrics of our Civil War, and many more. But may I read to you just one stanza by a poet with as many vagaries as Poe himself, and as many passions, but whose best passions were truth and his country? It relates to a great American, one of the great men of all time, whose centenary fell also in the same year and within less than a month of Poe's, and I take it merely as the first stanza, not the best, in the short poem:

O Captain, my Captain, our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring;
But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red!
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

(Cheers.)

But because in poetry Poe perversely limited himself, we must not fail to acknowledge how high he rose within those unreasonable limits. If I say that, considering his work merely in his own chosen light, as the rhythmical creation of beauty, in that sole field not even Swinburne has surpassed him, perhaps I have said enough.

We ought not to forget that Poe was also a brilliant critic—if the authors here consider that a merit! (Laughter.) He was more; in the main he was also a just and sound critic. He had, to be sure, an impish dislike of Longfellow, perhaps because of what he thought the oppressive respectability of the Cambridge poet (laughter); but when that is remembered, it may well be offset with his early and prompt appreciation and his generous praise of his only contemporary rival in his own field of the short story, Nathaniel Hawthorne. (Hear, hear!)

Finally, let us never forget his hard fate

in his own choice of a literary executor and biographer. Not till this generation did he get bare justice at home—and then best perhaps in the definitive edition of his works and biography issued a few years ago by two associates, Professor Woodberry, of Columbia, and the prominent and lately mourned man of letters whom New Yorkers loved to call their banker-poet, but who must always live in memory with some of us as the cheeriest of comrades and the most chivalric of friends —dear, gallant, debonair Ned Stedman.

It was a pathetic story which these editors had to deal with and we have to remember to-night. I am not going to dwell on it; I am only going to protest against Griswold's version of it. Poe was not a bad man; in many ways he was tender, and lovable, and loyal. Certainly he was not wicked as he was painted; only pitifully weak. Let those who are perfect cast stones.

And, ladies and gentlemen of the Society of Authors, if there is any moral we want to draw for ourselves from the life and death

and work of the brilliant creature we have been considering, it can only be the old one that the Bohemianism which is apt to fascinate us in our youth is not a spur to genius, but a clog; and that, after the proper development of such powers as God may have given us, there is nothing in the whole world so surely helpful for us, whether in literature or in life, as Character. (Cheers.)

# THE BACON TERCENTENARY.

GRAY'S INN, Oct. 17th, 1908.

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*From* THE LONDON TIMES.

The 300th anniversary of the election of Francis Bacon as Treasurer of Gray's Inn, which took place on October 17, 1608, was celebrated on Saturday by a luncheon at the Inn, at which the Benchers entertained a number of distinguished guests. It is the intention of members of the Inn to observe the first night of Term (November 2) as a Bacon Anniversary, and, at a later date, a permanent memorial of the famous Lord Chancellor will be placed in one of the open spaces of the Inn—probably South-square. This memorial will consist of a marble statue of Bacon by Mr. F. W. Pomeroy, A.R.A. A sketch model of it was on view on Saturday, as well as an interesting collection of Baconian manuscripts and printed books. The luncheon was held in the ancient hall, which the great Chancellor knew so well. Several ladies watched the proceedings from the gallery. Mr. Duke, K.C., the Treasurer, presided, and the American Ambassador was the principal guest.

The company also included Mr. A. W. A'Beckett, Sir C. Allbutt, F.R.S., Mr. L. S. Amery, Mr. Astbury, K.C., M.P., Master Atkin, K.C., Mr. J. Atkinson, Sir Hickman Bacon, Mr. Balfour-Browne, K.C., Sir Robert Ball, F.R.S., Mr. W. E. Ball, Mr. J. Eldon Bankes, K.C., Master Barnard, K.C., Sir Gorell Barnes (President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division), Canon Beeching, Mr. Justice Bigham, Mr. Augustine Birrell, K.C., M.P., Mr. E. H. Borrajo, Sir A. Bosanquet, K.C. (the Common Serjeant), Mr. Ivor Bowen, Mr. A. Bremner, Mr. J. W. Ross Brown, Mr. R. W. Brown, Lord Justice Buckley, Sir P. Bunting, Mr. E. C. Burgis, Master Byrne, C.B., Master Campbell, K.C., M.P., Mr. F. Cassel, K.C., Mr. E. J.

Castle, Mr. E. Cecil, M.P., Mr. R. R. Cherry, K.C., M.P. (Attorney-General for Ireland), Mr. H. F. Chettle, Sir E. Clarke, K.C., Master Clayton, Mr. A. Cohen, K.C., Master Sir A. Collins, K.C., Sir W. J. Collins, M.P., Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, Lord Courtney of Penwith, Master Coward, K.C., Sir H. Cozens-Hardy (Master of the Rolls), Sir J. Crichton-Browne, F.R.S., Mr. C. A. Cripps, K.C., Archdeacon Cunningham, D.D., Mr. W. O. Danckwerts, K.C., Mr. Justice Darling, Mr. R. S. Deans, Sir J. Dewar, F.R.S., Professor Dicey, K.C., Master Dicey, C.B., Mr. H. F. Dickens, K.C., Sir F. Dixon-Hartland, M.P., Mr. F. Dodd, Mr. J. S. Dugdale, K.C. (Treasurer of the Inner Temple), Sir E. Durning-Lawrence, Mr. W. Ellison-Macartney, Sir S. Evans, K.C., M.P. (Solicitor-General), the Bishop of Exeter, Mr. E. A. Farleigh, Lord Justice Farwell, Sir R. Finlay, G.C.M.G., K.C., Mr. F. L. Firminger, the Rev. R. J. Fletcher (the Preacher), Professor Frankland, F.R.S., Sir Forrest Fulton, K.C. (the Recorder), Mr. C. Goddard, Mr. G. L. Gomme, Major Gratwicke, Sir G. Greenwood, M.P., Mr. F. A. Greer, Master Griffith, Master Harris, K.C., Mr. E. Harrison, K.C., Mr. W. G. Hawtin, Mr. G. Haysom, the Rev. A. C. Headlam (Principal of King's College), Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., M.P., Canon Hensley Henson, Mr. C. Herbert-Smith, Sir J. Hill, Professor Holland, K.C., Mr. A. Hopkinson, K.C. (Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester), Mr. J. J. Howe, Sir W. Huggins, K.C.B., O.M., F.R.S., Sir Courtenay Ilbert, K.C.S.I., Mr. J. Inglis, Mr. Justice Joyce, Lord Justice Kennedy, Mr. G. W. King, Mr. F. Lampard, Mr. S. Lee, Master Lush, K.C., Mr. R. A. McCall, K.C., Mr. J. W. McCarthy, Sir J. Macdonell, C.B., Sir A. Mackenzie, Mr. F. O. Macmillan, Sir P. Magnus, M.P., Master Manisty, K.C., Sir W. Matthews, K.C.M.G. (President of the Institute of Civil Engineers), Master Mattinson, K.C., Mr. C. Maturin, Mr. H. Morris (President of the Royal College of Surgeons), Lord Justice Fletcher Moulton, Mr. J. W. Moyses, Judge Mulligan, K.C., Mr. B. O'Connor, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., Sir I. Owen (Deputy Chancellor the University of Wales), Master Pochin, Sir F. Pollock, Mr. F. W. Pomeroy, Mr. A. S. Poyser, Mr. J. Proctor, Sir T. Rayleigh, Sir W. Ramsay, F.R.S., Sir H. Reichel (Principal of the University of Wales), Mr. Justice Ridley, Sir W. S. Robson, K.C., M.P. (Attorney-General), Sir H. Roscoe, F.R.S., Master Rose, Master Russell, K.C., Mr. C. H. Russell (Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn), Mr. C. C. Scott, Mr. M. Sharpe, Mr. J. A. Simon, K.C., M.P., Sir C. Stanford, Lord Strathcona, F.R.S. (Chancellor of the University of Aberdeen), Mr. R. S. Taylor, Master Terrell, K.C., Lord Justice Vaughan Williams, Lord Verulam, Mr. C. Walsh, Dr. Ward (Master of Peterhouse), Sir Marshall Warmington, K.C., Mr. F. Watt, Archdeacon Wilberforce, Mr. P. Witham, the Rev. H. G. Woods, D.D. (Master of the Temple), and Dr. Wright (Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge).

After the toasts of "The King" and "Domus," the Treasurer proposed a toast to "The Immortal Memory of Francis Bacon," and when he had detailed Bacon's connection with Gray's Inn, and briefly traced his career, concluded by saying :—

"Among the shadows of that great age the name of Bacon stood out with fact, public service, and character about it—

in spite of all the errors of his time and all the weakness of his nature—which made his name increasingly a treasure of the English race. What he wrote in his will was that he left his memory to the charitable speeches of mankind and foreign nations and to the next age. Three hundred years had gone, and they felt there that day that the time was ripe when they might declare their gratitude to Bacon, when they might challenge the judgment of Englishmen upon the broad view as to the memory and service of Bacon." (Cheers.)

After the toast to "The Immortal Memory of Francis Bacon" had been drunk in silence the Treasurer, again rising, proposed the toast of "Our Guests," and alluded with gratification to the presence of Mr. Whitelaw Reid. The American Ambassador responded :—

> Many another might, no doubt, have been more appropriately called upon to respond to this toast,—guests like the heir to Bacon's title and estate of Gorhambury (Lord Verulam) on your left; or like the representative on your right, of Trinity College, where Bacon was trained for his work; or like others here, fitly representing the two great professions of law and letters, both of which Bacon adorned. But none of them could say with more sincerity how fully we appreciate the hospitality with which we have been received, and above all the historic occasion to which you have invited us.

Those of us who no longer enjoy the confidence and courage of youth do not always look forward to these public entertainments as sources of unmixed pleasure. Yet there is one class of them about which all who have had experience are of one mind. An invitation to any one of these Inns of the Court is always taken as conferring a compliment and ensuring enjoyment.

But no one of them, I think, has in recent times had an occasion absolutely unique like this which Gray's Inn celebrates to-day. You have shown your own appreciation of it by the honors with which you have treated the great man in whose name you are assembled. I might say almost Royal honors, for the toast to Bacon, like that to the King, has no response. In that you are not wrong. This man too is of the blood royal. He is a prince in the intellectual republic of England,—nay he is the Crown Prince.

I am not sure that I will have the approval of Gray's Inn, or of the great profession which looks to this spot as one of its centres,

in what I am about to say. Some of us are not thinking at all in this commemoration of Bacon's abilities or of his character, as lawyer or as judge. Much as it may shock your professional feelings, I venture to think that if the whole connection of Bacon with your profession were left out of sight his name and his fame would still stand before England and the world practically as high as they are to-day. (Cheers.) His entire legal and judicial career might be forgotten without detracting from his intellectual stature and his happy memory—all but one thing. He was Treasurer of Gray's Inn; and now, three hundred years later, the Benchers still certify to his fidelity as Treasurer and his charm as member, and are proud of his relation to them in both capacities. Aside from that, the waters of oblivion may flow over his professional record, and the name of Bacon will still stand pre-eminent in the intellectual world. (Cheers.)

There is a class of meticulous minds, who

are never happy in looking at the sun unless they can find spots upon it. This man is the sun in England's intellectual firmament. Let those whom such pursuit pleases hunt for its spots. The rest of us will prefer to enjoy and to profit by its beneficent heat and light. (Cheers.)

No man ever held a more extraordinary position than Bacon. It has been given to very few men in the world, as it was to him, to change the entire intellectual current and tendency of their age and of succeeding ages. The whole effect of what has been called the Baconian philosophy was, according to his own statement of it, to look for fruit. It was essentially practical, and its vital demand, unlike that of previous philosophies, was for practical results. As one of his acutest critics said of him, his philosophy began in observation and ended in arts. The enormous progress that has been made in the centuries since his time, in the development of the empire of mind over matter, received its original impulse from the Baconian philosophy. Surely

there never lived a man who had a better right to display that proud humility, shown in the pathetic bequest which you quoted a moment ago, "My name and my memory I leave to the charitable speeches of men, to foreign nations, and to the next age." (Cheers.)

# THE MILTON TERCENTENARY.

MANSION HOUSE, Dec. 9th, 1908.

*From* THE LONDON TELEGRAPH.

It is the proud boast of the City that she never fails to do honour to her citizens, whether they have joined the roll of the illustrious dead or are still among the famous living, and the banquet given at the Mansion House last night in commemoration of the tercentenary of John Milton's birth was peculiarly in accord with civic traditions. The Lord Mayor (Alderman Sir George Wyatt Truscott) presided over a company which was at once brilliant and representative, including as it did men of light and leading in all walks of life—statesmen, eminent divines, lawyers, members of the Universities, musicians, painters, and representatives of the arts and of letters generally. Among those present were :—

The Italian Ambassador (the Marquis di San Giuliano), the American Ambassador (Mr. Whitelaw Reid), Viscount Goschen, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Ripon, Lord Tennyson, Mr. Justice Darling, Mr. Yoxall, Lord Burghclere, The Right Hon. Augustine Birrell, M.P., The Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry, Mr. Alfred Austin (Poet-Laureate), the Rev. Canon Mason (Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge), the Dean of Westminster, Sir Hubert Parry (Director of the Royal College of Music), Canon Beeching, Mr. R. A. Robinson (Chairman of the London County Council), Mr. Thomas Hardy, Mr. A. W. Pinero, Sir George Chubb, Bt., Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Anthony Hope Hawkins, Sir Henry Craik, M.P., Sir A. C. Mackenzie (Principal, Royal College of Music), Alderman Sir Walter Vaughan Morgan (Treasurer of Christ's Hospital), Sir W. S. Gilbert, Sir William Richmond, Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor J. W. Mackail, Sir William Collins (Vice-Chancellor of the University of London), Mr. John Murray, Sir Frederick Bridge, Mr. Lionel Cust, Sir George Martin, Sir William Anson, Bt., M.P., Dr. G. K. Fortescue, the

Rev. Dr. R. T. Horton, Mr. J. H. Lile, Dr. W. Garnett, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Dr. W. H. Cummings, the Rev. Arthur W. Hutton (rector of St. Mary-le-Bow), Professor Gollancz, Mr. Sidney Lee, Mr. A. E. W. Mason, M.P., Mr. W. L. Courtney, Mr. Henry W. Lucy, the Sheriffs, and Sir William Soulsby.

After giving the toast of "The King" the LORD MAYOR said it was his first duty as Chief Magistrate of the City in which John Milton lived, and moved and had his being, to thank for their presence those who had assembled on that historic day. All were animated with the same desire of doing homage to the genius of their greatest City poet, who was born within a few yards of that spot just 300 years ago. In the presence of so many distinguished men who had made Milton's prose and verse the study of their lives, it would be impertinent in him, who in the exercise of his mayoral functions had to "scorn delights and live laborious days," to attempt any reflections on the influence and power of Milton's writings. He would only remind them that one of the most earnest of the poet's efforts at reform was in connection with the branch of industry with which he (the Lord Mayor) was most intimately connected. His *Areopagitica* contained one passage which seemed to have a peculiar significance that evening:

"Behold now this vast city; a city of refuge; the Mansion House of Liberty. What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies?" (Cheers.)

The Rev. Canon BEECHING gave "The Immortal Memory of Milton"; the ITALIAN AMBASSADOR gave "Poetry," and ALFRED AUSTIN, Poet-Laureate, replied; Mr. Justice DARLING gave "Music and the Drama," and Sir HUBERT PARRY and Mr. A. W. PINERO replied; and the AMERICAN AMBASSADOR gave "The Lord Mayor," being supported by Dr. A. W. WARD, Master of Peterhouse. Mr. WHITELAW REID said: —

It has been made my duty to submit a toast arising naturally out of this commemora-

tion. It is to the Chief Magistrate of the City that had the honour to give Milton to England and to the world.

Has it occurred to you to consider how narrow are the geographical limits within which the very highest literary distinction has appeared? The world counts but five or six poets of supreme genius—if so many. As to three of them there is never much question. Of those three, one came from a little island in the Mediterranean, and the other two from a not large island, shrouded by these Northern fogs. Thus in the sovereignty of poetry those two islands outweigh every continent and all archipelagos. (Cheers.) This great city of London is famous for many things, but it has no fame more widely diffused and more permanent than as the support of Shakespeare during his professional activity, and as the birthplace of Milton and his home. (Cheers.) Having said this, I might properly enough, at this late hour, close at once by proposing the toast entrusted to me.

Still, in this spot, one of the greatest literary and publishing centres of the world, if not the greatest, a person whose own life has had something to do with the press could hardly be excused if on such an occasion he did not at least mention the universal indebtedness of mankind to the author of the "Plea for Unlicensed Printing." (Cheers.) That was at the beginning of the long struggle for the greatest liberating and elevating influence of modern civilization, the Freedom of the Press (cheers); but even then its author was keenly alive to the insidious danger that always dogs the steps of this freedom. You recall his phrase, "As good almost kill a man as kill a good book; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself." When you remember that, remember also that he took instant care to disclaim the remotest thought of "introducing license while he opposed licensing," and that subsequently he denounced in good set terms those

"That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
And still revolt when truth would set them free.
License they mean, when they cry liberty,
For who loves *that* must first be wise and good."

One other thing I ought to mention. This great poet's conception of ordered liberty in the press, and in all things, inspired the men with whom he acted. They were the men that ruled England then, the men that colonised New England and helped found the Western Republic. I like to fancy that he might even then have had some premonition of coming events; and that, at any rate, later on, the old bard's sightless eyes saw in clearer outlines the wider reach and meaning in the vision of his prime. You are all familiar with it:—"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle, mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam." (Cheers.)

My Lord Mayor, that was a very interesting

and notable reference to the city of which you are the municipal head, which this London poet of yours once made, and which you quoted from the *Areopagitica*, a few moments ago. But in your modesty you left out some of its most daring and significant phrases. He began by telling how God sometimes revealed Himself to His servants, and, *as His manner is, first* to His Englishmen! He then burst out about London itself: "Behold, now this vast city; a city of refuge, the Mansion House of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with His protection." Long may these words describe it. We do right to-day, gentlemen, while celebrating his anniversary, to remember also this city, his home in prosperity and in adversity, which now, three hundred years after he first saw the light, still reverently cherishes his fame and guards his tomb. (Cheers.) We all salute that city, in the person of its honoured and worthy Chief Magistrate. I propose to you the last regular toast, "The Lord Mayor."

# THE WASHINGTON ANNIVERSARY.

LONDON SECTION, U.S. NAVY LEAGUE, Feb. 22nd, 1909.

*From* THE LIVERPOOL POST.

The London section of the United States Navy League celebrated the anniversary of Washington's birthday by a dinner at the Hyde Park Hotel, last night. Mr. J. Morgan Richards was in the chair. The first toast was "The King," which was followed by "The President." The AMERICAN AMBASSADOR (Mr. WHITELAW REID), in dealing with the toast of the evening, said :—

You have chosen the right day for your re-union in behalf of the American Navy. It inevitably calls up the immortal memory of Washington, and that makes it the very best possible of all dates. You must know that in early and efficient influence for an important naval establishment as a national necessity, just as in so many other things, Washington towered above everybody. May

I remind you again, as I ventured to do once before on this anniversary, that in his very last message to Congress the first President of the Republic recurred to the absolute necessity of a navy, in language that cannot be too often recalled, now that the infant nation of a few millions on the Atlantic coast to which they were addressed has grown to cover the Continent, and stretch out to islands and archipelagos in both hemispheres. These were his simple and weighty words in 1796: "It is our experience that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect for a neutral flag requires a naval force, organized and ready, to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party as may, first or last, leave no other option." That extract justifies the U.S. Navy League, if justification were needed, in choosing Washington's birthday for its annual

meetings. If a big Navy be jingoism, it is the jingoism of the Father of his Country.

It has been intimated to me, rather strenuously, that to-night it is my duty to say something for the American Navy. I don't see the necessity. Even if there were one, why don't you commandeer those accomplished officers of our Navy, Stockton and Gibbons, who have lately been so busy about all manner of international Navy activities? I have had the advantage and the privilege of the service of both of them as naval aides at the Embassy, and I can testify to their admirable competence. If, after Captain Mahan, you still want the importance of sea power to a big nation demonstrated: or if you need to know that we have a fine Navy already, but that we also have the longest sea coast of any great power and ought to have a Navy somewhat corresponding to it: or, if you want to be once more reminded that we always have a big trade afloat, and should sometimes aspire to have it carried in our own vessels, or, at least, the coal to our own war vessels, Stockton and

Gibbons can expound all this to you by the hour.

But as a matter of fact, the American Navy, throughout the century and a third of its existence, has always had the habit of talking for itself—and talking to some purpose, too. Its officers have generally been able also to talk pretty readily on occasion—sometimes, it must be confessed, just a shade too readily. To take a classic instance, and so avoid the awkwardness of referring to possible occurrences within the last half-century, look at the shining example of the greatest man in our early Navy, one of the very greatest men, in fact, our Navy ever had—John Paul Jones.

He was the author, you know, of our first Navy, drew up the plan, furnished drawings and specifications for some of the first ships with their armament, and helped about the Bill before the Continental Congress. Well, just as his plan was adopted and the Bill passed, and after he had written the best summary of what a naval officer ought

to be we have ever had—a letter that ought to hang now in the messroom of every vessel that flies our flag—just about that time John Paul Jones happened to hear one of the great colonial statesmen, a member of the Continental Congress, talking French with some ladies. An imp of Satan asked him what sort of French the great statesman spoke, and John Paul Jones was just ready enough, just glib enough, and imprudent enough to answer promptly, "Oh, well, it's a great mercy to this country that Mr. John Adams's politics are not as English as his French is."

The story may have come in the lapse of time to be a little exaggerated, as Mark Twain said the story of his own death was; and the sequel may have been merely a political coincidence, though again it may have been a cool estimate of this too ready and too witty sailorman from the James River tobacco plantation, away down in Virginia. At any rate, when the Continental Congress proceeded to name the officers for the new Navy,

it didn't name John Paul Jones commodore. It didn't name him the first of the six captains, or the second, or the sixth. The author of the Navy was put among its lieutenants, and John Paul Jones never got any further rank from the Continental Congress till he had brilliantly earned it in active service.

I beg your pardon for this long digression. You see, I've been fumbling around in an effort to make some excuse for Stockton and Gibbons, one of whom ought to be speaking at this moment instead of seeming to roll his job off on me. But I might as well take the moral of the story to myself, too. The truth is, on an occasion like this, we are all superfluous. The best talking for the American Navy has always been done by the ships themselves.

There are still some of us here who can remember eloquence of that sort, that once thrilled our Continent, and, to use the reprehensible slang of the day, made even the rest of the world sit up and take notice, when Farragut first took New Orleans, and next steamed

straight up Mobile Bay, using quite unevangelical language, too, on the way when some anxious soul begged him to be very careful about the torpedoes. We can all remember more eloquence of that sort, when Dewey, on being turned out of Hong Kong, as was quite right under the rules of war, steamed into Manila harbour; and we can remember more of it again when Sampson and good old Captain Philip and Schley and Bob Evans encountered the gallant and chivalric Cervera at Santiago.

But in the whole history of our Navy it has never spoken in more thrilling tones than it has this very day. It has just been reunited, on our shores, without loss or accident, after an unparalleled voyage, in peace, and honor, and ever-increasing friendliness, all around the continents of North and South America, and then clear round the world. It is home again, in the historic harbour of Hampton Roads, just in time to celebrate the birthday of the Father of his Country, by the most impressive and

inspiring naval review in our history, before the present occupant of Washington's chair, himself as strong and helpful a friend as our Navy ever had. When those much-travelled battleships saluted Roosevelt to-day, the thunder of their guns was another shot like the one Emerson celebrated, heard round the world.

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